

SACRED FEMININE IMAGERY IN TANTRIC BUDDHISM: TEXT AND PRACTICE

PRANSHU SAMDARSHI

SACRED FEMININE IMAGERY IN TANTRIC BUDDHISM : TEXT AND PRACTICE

Dissertation Submitted to the
University of Delhi
In Partial Fulfilment of
Requirement
For the Degree of
DOCTORATE OF PHILOSOPHY
BY
PRANSHU SAMDARSHI

Under the Supervision of
Prof. Jaya S. Tyagi
and
Dr. Shonaleeka Kaul



Department of History
University of Delhi
Delhi-110007
2018



SACRED FEMININE IMAGERY IN TANTRIC BUDDHISM:
TEXT AND PRACTICE

Dissertation Submitted to the University of Delhi
In Partial Fulfilment of Requirement
For the Degree of

DOCTORATE OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

PRANSHU SAMDARSHI

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
PROF. JAYA S. TYAGI AND DR. SHONALEEKA KAUL



DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

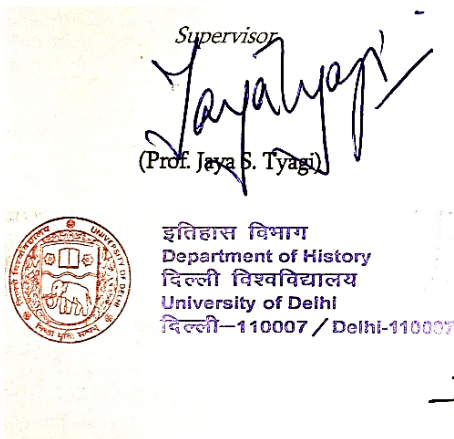
UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

DELHI-110007

2018

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that **Pranshu Samdarshi**, a Ph.D. Scholar in the Department of History, University of Delhi, has satisfactorily prepared his thesis entitled '**Sacred Feminine Imagery in Tantric Buddhism: Text and Practice**' under my supervision and guidance. The present work incorporates the result of his independent study and embodies his own research. This work to the best of my knowledge and belief is original and the contents of the thesis have not been presented before to form the basis of the award of any previous degree in any university. The present work is up to the mark and is worthy of presentation for examination.



Co-Supervisor
(Dr. Shonaleeka Kaul)

Head
(Prof. Sunil Kumar)

Researcher
(Pranshu Samdarshi)

विभागाध्यक्ष/Head
इतिहास विभाग / Department of History
दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय / University of Delhi
दिल्ली-110007 / Delhi-110007

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many that, without their guidance and support, this research would not have been made possible. First of all, sincere thanks to my Ph.D. research supervisors Dr. Shonaleeka Kaul and Prof. Jaya S. Tyagi. They offered genuine guidance and gave a space, a freedom, and an emotional security to develop and express my difficult ideas that have taken some shape in this research. I am immensely grateful for their insight, wisdom and tutelage.

All the teachers and staff of Department of History were always a source of assistance and their moral support has been a blessing. I respectfully offer my deep reverence and gratefulness to them.

The strength of presence of friends, Anil Kumar Maurya, Vikram Bhardwaj, Dinesh Singh, Sunil Kumar, Narender, Ven. Tashi Dorje, Pooja Dabral, Karma Rinchen Sonam, Nelja Wangmo and all other friends from various departments of Delhi University and Jawaharlal Nehru University, does not go unnoticed.

I am grateful to Thomas Cruijssen, of 84000.co translation project and Dr. Manik Bajracharya of Lotus Research Centre, Kathmandu. Their inputs on Nepalese Buddhist traditions and reading the Buddhist terminologies have benefitted a lot for this research. I am also grateful to Dr. Balaram Shukla of

Sanskrit department, University of Delhi, who helped with the English translations of Sanskrit passages used in this research.

The informal interactions with Prof. Ram Shankar Tripathi, Geshe Yeshe Thabkhey, Dr. Wangchuk Dorje Negi and other scholars of Central University of Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, have made me aware of the vast and profound textual legacy of Buddhist tantra.

Studying the texts of Kashmir Shaivism with Prof. Bettina Baumer and Dr. Aleksandra Wenta and, attending the Sanskrit classes of Prof. V. N. Jha and Dr. Sadananda Das were some of the valuable addendums to my understanding of compositeness of Indic-scholasticism.

Finally, I offer my profound gratitude to Geshe Dorji Damdul. I feel fortunate to have the access to his vast knowledge of traditional Buddhist philosophy and his insightful teachings given at Tibet House, Delhi. I acknowledge the financial support of Senior Research Fellowship provided by UGC.

PREFACE

In the process of writing this dissertation, I also produced the following publications. Some contents of this dissertation, therefore, may overlap with these publications:

1. 2019 (Upcoming) ‘Spatial and Architectural Constructs of Tantric Buddhist Mandalas: A Cognitive Approach’, in *Eloquent Spaces: Meaning, Monuments and Communities in Early India*, Ed. Shonaleeka Kaul, Routledge, London and New York.
2. 2018 ‘Book Review’ in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, National University of Singapore, Vol. 49. No. 2, (Book Review of *Nalanda Srivijaya and Beyond: Re-exploring Buddhist Art in Asia*, Edited by Gauri Parimoo Krishnan, Singapore: Asian Civilisation Museum, 2017).
3. 2017 ‘हिंदी साहित्य पर बौद्ध धर्म-दर्शन का प्रभाव’ (Buddhist Influence on Modern Hindi Literature), Vol. 4, Issue. 26, अपनी माटी ई-पत्रिका, Web magazine, Chittorgarh, Rajasthan.
4. 2017 ‘*Female Buddhas: Sacred Feminine Imagery in Buddhist Tantra*’, Rachna Publishers, New Delhi.
5. 2016 ‘Yoginis as Goddesses’ *Frontline*, Vol. 32, Issue 26, Jan.08, 2016: 86-87. (Book Review of Anamika Roy’s *Sixty-Four Yoginis: Cult, Icons and Goddesses*, Primus Books, 2015).
6. 2014 ‘Concept of Goddesses in Buddhist Tantra Tradition’, *The Delhi University Journal of the Humanities and the Social Sciences*, University of Delhi, Vol. 1, Issue 1: 83-96.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

- Romanization of Sanskrit follows the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration.
- All Sanskrit and Tibetan pre-modern names are given name first followed by the surname.
- There is no present consensus concerning the terms: Vajrayana, Mantrayana, Esoteric Buddhism, and Tantric Buddhism. Therefore, these various terms are used interchangeably.

DESCRIPTION OF DIACRITICS

long a	ā	retroflex d	ḍ
long A	Ā	retroflex D	Ḍ
long i	ī	retroflex n	ṇ
long I	Ī	retroflex N	Ṅ
long u	ū	palatal s	ś
long U	Ū	palatal S	Ś
vocalic r	ṛ	retroflex s	ṣ
vocalic R	Ṛ	retroflex S	Ṣ
long vocalic r	ṝ	anusvara	ṁ
vocalic l	ḷ	visarga	ḥ
vocalic L	Ḹ	long e	ē
long vocalic l	ḹ	long o	ō
velar n	ṅ	l underbar	l̄
velar N	Ṅ	r underbar	r̄
palatal n	ṇ	n underbar	n̄
palatal N	ṇ̄	k underbar	k̄
retroflex t	ṭ	t underbar	t̄
retroflex T	Ṭ		

Unless indicated otherwise, accents have been dropped in order to facilitate word search.

SUMMARY IN HINDI

स्त्री-रूप में दिव्य-शक्ति की आराधना विभिन्न धर्मों का एक अभिन्न अंग रहा है. भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप विकसित विभिन्न धार्मिक संप्रदायों तथा लोगों के सामाजिक जीवन में भी देवी-पूजा का प्रमुख स्थान रहा है. अन्य भारतीय धर्मों की तरह बौद्ध धर्म के विभिन्न संप्रदायों में प्रज्ञा के रूप में स्त्री-देवता के उपासना प्रचलित रही है. बौद्ध धर्म में बुद्धत्व सहित उच्चतम आध्यात्मिक आदर्शों एवं लक्ष्यों की अभिव्यक्ति स्त्री-देवता के रूप में निरूपित हुई है.

भारत में उद्भूत प्रायः सभी धर्मों में तंत्र-साधना की भी अविच्छिन्न परंपरा विद्यमान रही है. बौद्ध धर्म के परवर्ती काल में जब बौद्ध-तंत्र की धारा का जन-सामान्य के बीच प्रचार-प्रसार हुआ तब बुद्धत्व की अवधारणा एक व्यक्ति विशेष के रूप में न होकर वर्ण-लिंग से परे, एक चैतन्य जाग्रत सत्ता के मानवकृत स्वरूप में निरूपित हुई. इसी क्रम में विभिन्न स्त्री-देवताओं के साधना परंपरा का विकास हुआ. पारमार्थिक सत्य और प्रज्ञा रूप में अभिव्यक्त ये तांत्रिक देवियाँ बौद्ध आदर्शों एवं उच्चतम धार्मिक लक्ष्य को निरूपित करती हैं.

ध्यातव्य है कि शाक्त-शैव तंत्र और बौद्ध तंत्र में संवृतिक एवं परमार्थ-सत्य की अवधारणा एक सामान नहीं होने से बौद्ध तंत्रों की अपनी विशिष्ट परम्परा रही है. अनात्म एवं शून्यता के सिद्धांतों की पृष्ठभूमि पर आधारित बौद्ध तंत्र में वर्णित बौद्ध देवीयों की प्रतीकात्मकता परमार्थ और संवृति की एकात्मकता पर केन्द्रित हैं तथा बौद्ध तंत्र के साधन-सिद्धांत परार्थ-हित को ही अपना उद्देश्य लक्षित करते हैं.

इस शोध में तांत्रिक बौद्ध परंपरा के विभिन्न ग्रंथों में उल्लेखित तांत्रिक देवियों की उपासना एवं ध्यान-परंपरा के ऐतिहासिक विकास का क्रम-बद्ध सर्वेक्षण किया गया है. औपनिवेशिक-काल के और वर्तमान इतिहासकारों के द्वारा की गयी तंत्र-सम्बंधित असंगत व्याख्याओं की समालोचना की गयी है, साथ ही तथा नेपाल और तिब्बत में प्रचलित बौद्ध देवीयों के तांत्रिक परंपराओं का साधनमाला तथा निष्पन्नयोगावली इत्यादि तंत्र ग्रंथों के आधार पर एक शोधपूर्ण अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किया गया है. परिशिष्ट के रूप में बौद्ध-तंत्र की देवियों से सम्बंधित कुछ संस्कृत श्लोकों के मौलिक अंग्रेजी अनुवाद भी संलग्न है.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	I
PREFACE	III
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS	IV
DESCRIPTION OF DIACRITICS	V
SUMMARY IN HINDI	VI
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1	9
I. BUDDHIST TANTRA: METHODOLOGICAL, TEXTUAL AND HISTORICAL ISSUES	
Unargued preference and presumptions	13
Orientalism and Romanticism	18
The prototype of the European concept of Buddhism	21
European scholars and Sanskrit Buddhist texts	25
The colonial project of discovering the ‘original Buddhism’	28
Presuppositions and academic appropriation of tantric Buddhism	29
Conclusion (I)	46
II. Transcultural Encounters: Western influence on Indian Scholars	48
Tantric Buddhism and the Orientalist tropes	50
Extra-Indian origin theory of Buddhist tantra	57
The portrayal of Buddhist Tantra in Hindi Literature	61
Corrective Voices	65
Conclusion (II)	67
CHAPTER – 2	69
THE CONCEPT OF SACRED FEMININE IN BUDDHIST TANTRA	
Early tantra traditions	72
Esotericism and misunderstanding of tantra and its practices	85

Interpretation of Tantra by Western scholars	86
Feminine deities in the modern feminist framework	91
Research on goddesses of early Buddhism	93
Ḍākinī and Yakṣiṇī in Buddhism	96
Female deities in non-Buddhist tantric systems	98
Divine feminine and Female Buddhas	101
Buddhist ideals and their female personification	105
Goddesses in the historical sources	106
Feminine form of <i>Dhāraṇī</i>	110
Contemplative practices and female tantric deities	113
Conclusion	118
CHAPTER 3	119
PAÑCARAKṢĀ: THE FIVE-PROTECTION DEITIES OF KRIYĀ-TANTRA	
Classification of Buddhist tantra	121
Antiquity of Pañcarakṣā practice	130
Pañcarakṣā practice in Kathmandu valley	130
Pañcarakṣā in Central and Southeast Asia	133
Pañcarakṣā tradition in ancient India	138
Pañcarakṣā in texts	145
Pañcarakṣā Mandala	151
<i>Pañcarakṣā-sūtra</i>	155
Pañcarakṣā in Arts	160
Pañcarakṣā Caryā-nṛitya	166
Conclusion	167
CHAPTER 4	169
VAJRAYOGINĪ: SYMBOLISM OF YOGIC PRACTICES IN BUDDHIST-TANTRA	
Vajrayoginī in tantra texts	169
Portrayal of enlightenment in female form	173
Icon of Trikāya-vajrayoginī and yogic practice	176
Vajravārāhī and Vajrayoginī	181
Visualization practices of Vajrayoginī in texts	186
Vajrayoginī in the popular religion of Tibet and Nepal	189
Vajrayoginī temple at Sankhu	191
Vajrayoginī temple at Pharping	197
Conclusion	200
CONCLUSION	203

APPENDIX	210
BIBLIOGRAPHY	224
INDEX	255

INTRODUCTION

The worship of the goddess, the feminine-divine, has been an integral part of all religions that developed in India. Like other religious traditions, there exists a live engagement of Buddhism with feminine divinities. The modern studies on Himalayan and Tibetan Buddhist arts reveal that tantric Buddhist pantheon is incredibly rich with a diverse array of fascinating female figures. A number of studies in recent years have pointed out to a paradigmatic shift in the epistemology of feminine worship in the socio-religious life of the people in the Indian subcontinent.

It has been commonly observed that diverse traditions of goddesses, in their many forms and features, pervade the historical development of Indic religions at multiple levels. These figures correspond to multiple levels of divinity. They range from tree spirits to wrathful protectors and compassionate healers to mother figures of liberation. Some of them bestow the mundane accomplishments (*sāmānya-siddhi*) to their practitioners while others confer the supreme accomplishments (*uttama-siddhi*) to the supplicants of Buddhahood.¹ The

¹ These accomplishments or *Siddhis* are discussed in majority of the tantra texts. The mundane *siddhis* are of three types: *śāntika* (pacifying), *pauṣṭika* (abundance), and *abhicārika* (wrathful).

canonical Buddhist texts, which mention these goddesses, suggest that peaceful or wrathful appearance of goddesses depend on the particular qualities embodied by these goddesses. From the iconographic perspective, the Buddhist goddesses have key identifiers such as postures, hand gestures, or symbols and colour to tell who they are or what they represent.

A deeper understanding of tantric imagery reveals that much of the iconographic aspects of these Buddhist divinities have been derived from pragmatic visualization practices of Buddhist tantra. Such practices are soteriological in their aim but cryptic in their expression and esoteric in nature.²

However, most often, the researchers, as they are unaware of these veiled and esoteric concepts and symbolism of tantric Buddhism, fail to give cognizance to their significance and end up with an improper assessment of tantric iconography.

A significant part of this research involves the analysis of the central characteristics of Buddhist tantra. This analysis has a multi-layered approach and involves a variety of sources, considering the two sides of religion, the theory that

² The extensive uses of imageries and visualisation-based practices, the Tibetan master Chogyam Trungpa refers such tantra practices as 'visual dharma'. See, Chogyam Trungpa, *Visual Dharma The Buddhist Art of Tibet*. Boston: Shambhala, 1975.

is presented in canonical texts and in the lineage-teachings of monks, and the praxis, the actual practices and rituals of the lay adherents.

This research delineates the process of development of the tradition of goddesses and their practices within Buddhism in general and Buddhist tantra in particular. It is done by examining the canonical texts and ritual compendia of Buddhist tantra tradition for its symbolism, iconography, and visualization rituals. The functional aspects of rituals related to worldly or soteriological goals are also enquired into. The materials and information gathered for research work done for this research have been done through visiting monasteries, staying with lay Buddhist communities in Himalayan Buddhist regions, and conducting a series of formal and informal interactions with lineage-holder Tibetan Buddhist monks, reincarnated Lamas, Newari Vajracharyas, and the ordinary devotees who go on pilgrimage to the shrines of Buddhist deities.

A part of this research also contrasts the classical form of esoteric religious practices as prescribed in tantric texts that are preserved mainly by the monastics, with the popular traditions that play in the hearts and minds of the lay adherents of Buddhism. Though this research incorporates the tantric Buddhist tradition in general, it is centred on the tantric traditions and practices of goddesses that have been an integral part of Buddhism that still survives in the Himalayan regions. The area of investigation is positioned on two specific practices of Buddhist goddesses: the Pañcarakṣā and the Vajrayoginī practice. The postulation done in is largely

based upon the first-hand information obtained from fieldwork and primary textual sources.

This research, although, is more concerned with the philological analysis of Buddhist tantra texts, nevertheless, it has benefitted a lot from extensive travelling and fieldwork around the Himalayan region of India which includes Ladakh, Spiti and Sikkim, where the tantric form of Buddhism is still a vibrant living practice. This research also draws on from my M.Phil. research, which consisted of fieldwork on the shrines of Buddhist Goddesses in Kathmandu valley in Nepal.

In the last few decades, the increasing curiosity about Buddhist tantra has resulted in the production of a number of volumes related to goddesses. Some of these books have drawn on feminist ideas related to tantric sources to pursue questions related to the construction of women and women's subjectivity within the South Asian religious culture. Although these books do provide significant insight towards an understanding of feminine aspects of the Indo-Tibetan culture of Buddhism, however as Rita M. Gross points out, ‘...such discussions cannot be

done by outsiders, no matter how knowledgeable and sympathetic they may be.’³

An attempt has been made in this research to bring in the insider’s perspective.

This research is divided into four chapters. The first chapter critically analyses the historiography of Buddhism in general and Buddhist tantra in particular. The first part involves a critical analysis of the historiography of Buddhism and enquires into the larger contours of issues and the possible motives and reasons behind particular approaches as taken up by Buddhist scholars working under the British rulers of India who were responsible for creating general perceptions about the history of Buddhism that is still prevalent today.

The chapter takes up how the colonial interpretation of Buddhist history influenced Indian historians and how they responded towards the conceptual models and narrative forms developed by their Western counterparts. A diverse range of texts produced in the colonial and post-colonial period are analysed in this chapter. The concern is not with the chronological periodization of texts but with the ideological orientations underlying these textual productions.

This chapter looks into the details of the conventional mode of looking at Buddhism as it has been developed in the departments of religious and Asian

³ Rita M. Gross, “Is the Goddess a Feminist?” In *Is the Goddess a Feminist? The Politics of South Asian Goddesses*, edited by Alf Hiltebeitel and Kathleen M. Erndl. New York: NYUP, 2000, 109.

studies of Western universities and how the models that were developed for European studies and Biblical studies have been deployed to interpret Buddhism. Many such models that still dominate the historical imagination of Buddhist studies have been examined in this chapter. This chapter also proposes an alternative approach for Buddhist studies and advocates incorporating the critical study of the tantra texts from the perspective of traditional accounts.

The second chapter explores the progression of tantra in the religious sphere of ancient India in general. The focal point of the discussion is the goddess of Buddhist tantra. The interaction and influence of other religious traditions vis-a-vis Buddhism have been discussed. This chapter explores the placement of goddesses in the Buddhist framework and their symbolic importance. The different strata of goddesses are delineated and the personification in Buddhist ideas and the deifications of protective incantations, which has been an important aspect of Sutra and Tantra literature, are highlighted.

The third chapter deals with Pañcarakṣā goddesses. Their practice is classified under Kriyā-tantra of four classes of Buddhist tantra.⁴ This chapter

⁴ Buddhist tantra has been classified into a fourfold system: Kriyā Tantra, Caryā Tantra, Yoga Tantra and Anuttarayoga Tantra. Although this classification pertains to the Tibetan tradition, it is well accepted by the scholars nowadays. The diverse array of practices related to goddesses has also been categorized accordingly. Of these classes, Kriyā-tantra (Action-tantra) is recognized as a preliminary class. Some of the earliest texts found on the Kriyā-

investigates these goddesses with a two-tiered approach. It enquires into the explanation about the abstractness of their appearance and rituals through a brief overview of esoteric practices explained in some of the ancient tantric texts. The archaeological and textual pieces of evidence found in India, Central, and Southeast Asia have been examined in this chapter. Then the functional aspect of these goddesses found in the contemporary religious sphere of Nepal is also explored.

The fourth chapter consists of an explanation about the rationale behind the rituals and practices associated with Anuttarayoga-tantra through the visualizations practices related to a tutelary deity Vajrayoginī. The name Vajrayoginī is a generic name for a set of tantric goddesses who have a prominent presence in the tantric texts and therefore several forms of ritualistic visualization forms and yogic practices have developed around these goddesses. This chapter also explores the popular religious traditions associated with different Vajrayoginī

tantra in Chinese translations, belong to 3rd century CE. In Kriyā and Caryā Tantra, goddesses are visualized as external entities and their practices consist of devotion and rituals, while goddesses embodying the more advanced yogic practices are part of Yoga Tantra and Anuttarayoga Tantra.

temples located in the Kathmandu valley, Nepal, which happens to a significant part of this tradition but has been mostly neglected by the researchers.⁵

The conclusion points to the importance of proper tantric semiotics and hermeneutics for making sense of tantric texts, iconography and associated practices so that they can be interpreted within the context and in emic ways.

An English translation of a small text, which is a collection of twenty-five praise-verses (Snk. *stuti*) of Pañcarakṣā, has been added as an appendix. This is to give an idea of how such arcane practices of Buddhist goddesses, embedded within spiritual and philosophical doctrines, become the expression of popular religion and devotion.

⁵ Mostly, the contemporary academic writings on Vajrayoginī tradition mistakenly identify the Vajravārāhi for Vajrayoginī. Elizabeth English in her work, 'Vajrayogini: Her Visualizations, Rituals', suggests that Vajravārāhi is a form of Vajrayogini that is subject of the salutation and propitiations while Vajrayoginī is the deity of the visualization. See, Elizabeth English, *Vajrayogini: Her Visualizations, Rituals, & Forms*, 49. However, the Sakya tradition of Tibet does not hold this view and posits Vajrayoginī and Vajravārāhi as separate practices. This chapter deals with such issues in more details.

CHAPTER 1

BUDDHIST TANTRA: METHODOLOGICAL, TEXTUAL AND HISTORICAL ISSUES

श्व-खरोष्ट्र-गजाद्य-असृक् पित्वा मांसेन भोजनम् नित्यम्।

*Drink the blood of dog, donkey, camel, and elephant; thereafter feed on their flesh,
regularly.*

इष्टं सर्वविशेष रक्त-विलिप्त-महामांसं समस्त-कुत्सितमांसं प्राणक-शत-लक्ष-सम्युक्तम्-दिव्यम्।

*Desired is the very special, smeared with the blood, the human flesh, awful meat of
all species, full of millions of maggots, is divine.*

**वैरोचनेनाति-पूतम् कीट-शतैर्ह सिमिसि-मायमानम् श्वान-नर-च्छर्दित-मिश्रम् मांसं वज्राम्बु-
मर्जिका-युक्तम् वैरोचन-सम्मिश्रम् भोक्तव्यम् योगिनोत्साहैः ॥**

*Meat solidified by rotten excrement, mixed with the dog and human vomit,
simmering with hundreds of worms, with a coating of urine mixed with excrement; [it
should be] consumed by the yogi with delight.*

– संपुटोद्भवस्वर-तंत्र-निदान-महाकल्प-राज

– *Samputodbhava-svara-tantra-nidāna-mahākālpa-rāja*¹

¹ Unpublished manuscript in the collection of Tokyo University, new catalogue no. 428 (old no. 319), f. 38b, quoted by Wedemeyer; See, C. K. Wedemeyer, *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism: History, Semiology, and Transgression in the Indian Traditions*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013, 1.

‘Well, traditionally it would be better not to publish it [tantra scripture] at all; but if it is going to be published inevitably anyway, it is important to explain it clearly and authoritatively so as to avoid damaging misunderstandings.’

- H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama ²

For the readers outside of the tantra tradition, it is not an easy task to shed their dispassion while reading a tantric text. To the scholars of comparative religion, the tantra scriptures and their doctrines have represented the ultimate challenge. The deliberate use of the antinomian in the tantric religious system makes its ritualistic presentations, the language, and its semantics so offensive and repulsive that even if the reader is sympathetic to the tradition, it is not an easy task to get away from the distaste. The distaste, however, has been the creation of cursory and superficial readings of tantric texts.³

Any such reader is bound to be astounded by the characteristics and the discussion of these tantric treatises when they unfold. They have an unconventional tone of language, a different tenor of their expositions, and persuasion for a radical approach towards the practice for achieving the highest state of wisdom, what these texts refer as ‘unsurpassable knowledge’ (*anuttara-*

² H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama, quoted by Robert Thurman in the preface of translation of *Śrī-cakrasamvara-tantra*, xii.

³ Wedemeyer, *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism*, 1-5.

jñāna). The tantra texts present an altogether different category of epistemic place and subjectivization. And they purposely and overwhelmingly urge their readers to be well aware of the technicalities of the inherent cryptic language (*sandhyā-bhāṣā*), the hermeneutical renditions (*nītārtha-neyārtha*), and the appropriations of intention-intended (*abhiprāya-icchataḥ*), in the prescribed rituals; failing which, the whole tantric liturgy would just remain as an objectionable and nonsensical subject.⁴

A century ago, when the modern studies on Indology were in their premature stage, many Western explorers, who came across the tantric traditions in general and Buddhist tantra in particular, had to wrestle with the issue of this issue of tantra antinomianism. The normative rendering of Sanskrit textual lexicons, and other philological tools, which were helpful for the understanding of other scriptures in Sanskrit, did not provide any help, and these texts were incomprehensible even to the greatest of Sanskrit scholars of that time, (both Indian as well as Western.)

⁴ In the non-dual Buddhist tantra, some practices present this provocative juxtaposition, given the traditional precepts of Buddhism, some elements that are considered extremely polluting or taboo are prescribed to be used as means (*Upāya*). See, Michael M. Broido, “Killing, Lying, Stealing, and Adultery: A problem of Interpretation in the Tantras.” In *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, edited by Donald S. Lopez Jr, 71-118. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988, 71-80.

As most of the scholars failed to make much sense out of the unconventional rhetoric presented in the texts; they concluded the tantric form of Buddhism to be a disgusting form of some primitive religion. Nonetheless, it was evidently puzzling for these scholars, to fathom the widespread popularity of the tantric form of Buddhism that was still predominant in the vast range of the Himalayan region of India, Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet, and in the trans-Himalayan regions of Asia such as China, Mongolia, Korea, and Japan.

Since late 19th century, we find that protestant Britain, having India and Sri Lanka as its colonies, was putting in effort for promoting Pali based Theravada Buddhism, while Catholic France, having influence over Indo-china, looked for Buddhist scholasticism in the Sanskrit Mahayana Sutras. This resulted in the development of the two European schools of Buddhist studies. The Anglo-German school and the Franco-Belgian school. The Anglo-German school almost exclusively emphasized the Pali literary tradition. Scholars such as Thomas William Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenburg were amongst the main proponents of this school. The Franco-Belgian school utilized the Sanskrit textual tradition of Buddhism. Many eminent French scholars such as Sylvain Levi, De-la Valle Poussin and Jean Przylusky represented this school.

Thus, the texts of two traditions of Buddhism, Theravada and Mahayana, started being translated into the European languages by scholars. However, Western scholars started studying these texts from the point of view of Biblical

studies and Christian theology. Initially, the effort of these studies was motivated by the aim of drawing some parallels between Buddhism and Christianity so that European Christian missionaries could have some grounding in the religious systems of Asia so that Christianity could be introduced in the Asian countries.

Though these scholars were partially successful in their endeavour of comprehending the literature of Buddhist Sutra, when it came to the Buddhist tantra, the texts did not make any sense to them. Although a tantric form of Buddhism was surviving in Tibet, it was a forbidden land for Europeans, as at the end of 18th century the Tibetan government closed its border to them. Thus, the proper exposure for reading and interpretation of tantra texts was missing, which made it virtually impossible for those scholars to recognize the importance of the tantric Buddhist principles, especially when they compared it with the theology of Judeo-Christian religions.

Unargued preference and presumptions

When India formally became a British colony in the late 19th century, the reformatory agenda of British rulers of India became of utmost importance. In order to justify the exploitation of their colonized subjects, the reinterpretation of Indian customs and the religious traditions was an essential need. British rulers could figure out that in ancient India, Buddhism had enjoyed a distinct identity as an institution. Moreover, as the traditional masters of Buddhism were virtually

absent in the mainland of India, there was an opportunity to tweak its doctrine, reinvent it, and use it as a means to introduce their own agenda in the disguise of Buddhism to their Indian subjects.

This endeavour of British colonizers of India led to interpreting the Pali or Theravada form of Buddhism in a particular way. Primacy was given to Pali and it was propagated as the ‘original’ language of Buddhism and the language of Buddha as well as the language of common masses in ancient India.⁵ In addition, the Buddha was presented as the supreme reformer of India. This celebration of a specific form of Buddhism was deliberately done in such a way that all other forms of religious tradition, including the Mahayana and Tantra traditions of Buddhism, could be deprecated. This presentation was an outcome of the European imagination, which presented Buddhism as a religion compatible with rationalistic Western science. It was in stark contrast to Hinduism, which was considered mythological and superstitious religion.

The 19th century was the period when the investigation of Buddhism was taken up as a leisure activity by enthusiasts such as Alexander Cunningham (1814-

⁵ Fairly recently, the academicians who are involved, particularly in the early period of Buddhist scholarship in the West, have given their verdict that even the Theravada Buddhism too is far removed from the conception of ‘early’ and ‘true’ Buddhism’. See introduction of, Donald S. Lopez, Jr. *Curators of the Buddha : The Study of Buddhism Under Colonialism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

1893). Cunningham, who was trained as a military engineer, somehow managed to combine his military official work with his antiquarian interests in his young age and eventually became archaeological surveyor after his retirement. The unpublished archival materials related to him reveal the fact of the colonial mindset playing its role in distorting the archaeological source materials and presenting it in a decidedly peculiar fashion for which there is no obvious scholarly justification. Cunningham has been criticized for his ‘bias’ and his over fascination for Buddhism.

Cunningham’s preference for Buddhism, which was seemingly inoffensive until the recent research shows that the larger part of his writings has conspicuous rhetoric that sought to read Indian history in terms of deteriorating, a progressing decay from a distant but having a glorious past. This rhetoric was purposely created to pave the way for the British to colonize India so that in the disguise of reformist actions, their colonial project was executed.

In the writings of Cunningham and his contemporaries, there are various examples of the faulty interpretations of the findings of the early archaeological period. Recent research reveal that there have been many cases of racist attacks on native Indian scholars and they were discredited for their findings.⁶ A typical

⁶ Upinder Singh, *Idea Of Ancient India: Essays On Religion, Politics, and Archaeology* . Delhi: Sage Publishing, 2016, 123-45.

example of this case was the dispute between James Fergusson, an indigo merchant turned architect, and Rajendra Lal Mitra. An analysis of James Fergusson's book in which he responds to Rajendra Lal Mitra provides clear and direct evidence of the political ramifications of architectural debates that happened in 19th century India, which shows that the Indian scholars were univocally denied agency in the field of scholarship.⁷

This style of 'cherry-picking' approach for historiography was evident as the preference for a particular kind of source-materials was shown while neglecting others. The analysis of reports of Cunningham reveals that his descriptions about the motifs of Sanchi do not take the presence of Mahayana Buddhist traditions into consideration. For example, in his report, Cunningham does not give importance to motifs of Yakṣiṇi or Gaja-lakṣmi figures of Sanchi and mentions the Vajrapāṇi capital as a mere decorative figure. Nevertheless, the Vajrapāṇi is amongst the three main Bodhisattva figure in Mahayana Buddhism, symbolic form of power of the Buddha, and the chief compiler of the tantra texts preached by the Buddha.⁸

⁷ Fergusson, James. *Archeology in India with Empirical Reference to the Works of Babu Rajendralal Mitra*. London: Tubner & Co., 1884, 9-19.

⁸ In Theravada tradition too, Vajrapāṇi is a great Yakṣa as being identical to Sakka (Indra). For importance of Vajrapāṇi in Mahayana Buddhism, see the notes of E. Lamotte in *Suramgamasamādhi-sūtra*, 126.

Similar to the approach of Cunningham, the records of Brain H. Hodgson (1801-1894), a British resident of Kathmandu, tell us about the presence of rich Mahayana Buddhist philosophical traditions along with the systems of tantra and its deities in the Himalayan regions of Nepal. However, like most of English proconsuls of his time, Hodgson rejected the traditional viewpoints of Buddhist philosophy as ‘interminable absurdities of Buddha system.’⁹

In 1824, when Hodgson began his mission of accumulating the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts of Tantra and Mahayana, he also started dispatching them to his friends in India and France. Hodgson in one of the letters to his French scholar E. Burnouf writes, ‘Tantrika [*sic*] works are very numerous. They are in general disgraced by obscenity and by all sorts of magic and demonology. But they are frequently redeemed by unusually explicit assertions of a supreme Godhead.’¹⁰ It is not difficult to recognize there was a deliberate attempt made by Hodgson to correlate tantra to the Western magical tradition and his own imaginative constructs of Buddhist godhead and then projecting it as tantric Buddhism.¹¹

⁹ Edward Conze, *Short History of Buddhism*. London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1982, 103.

¹⁰ B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, And Religion of Nepal And Tibet: Together with further papers on the Geography, Ethnology, And Commerce of Those Countries*. London: Trubner & Co., 1874, 15.

¹¹ See a similar discussion in, Stephan Beyer, *Magic and Ritual in Tibet: The Cult of Tara*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988, 88-93.

Most of these theories that were propagated by scholars such as Cunningham and Hodgson to disparage the Mahayana and Tantric Buddhist tradition were closely intertwined with the history of political relationships between India and the West. These theories suffer from epistemological assumptions of British officers that are highly biased. It is not so difficult to infer that those assumptions and appropriations of archaeological findings were framed according to the concerns of racial superiority and their imperialist vision in colonial India. Through this sort of propagandist scholarship, the theory of ‘decline of Indian wisdom’ was devised and the need of a revival of ‘once-great civilization’ was often necessitated to impose the reformist agenda and in order to justify the British colonial presence in India as a civilizing force.

Orientalism and Romanticism

Much prior to the endeavours of Cunningham and Hodgson, the interest of Western scholars in Buddhism developed around the 17th century CE. Initially, it was because of their curiosity in the probable influence of Indian thought on Christianity.¹² Some of the irrational speculations were presented by the scholars

¹² There exists a seventh-century Christian legend of Barlam and Josaphat, which is actually a Christianized version of the story of the Buddha. The word ‘Josaphat’ is derived from the Sanskrit word, ‘Bodhisattva’. In the Persian texts, which were translated from Sanskrit Buddhist texts in the Sixth century CE, the Sanskrit word Bodhisattva was changed to

of this era. To scholars such as Engelbert Kaempfer, a German physician and explorer (1651-1716), Buddhism was mere ‘the pagan doctrine of the Brahmanas.’¹³

By early 18th century CE, most of the European scholars were convinced about the historicity of Buddha and the spread of his doctrine across Asia, however, according to the Western historical principles, it was not sure where he lived or where he was from. The absence of living Buddhism and its practices from the non-Himalayan regions of India led them to the speculation that they had to search for Buddha’s religion elsewhere from India. This resulted in ‘extra Indian origin theory’ of Buddhism. This led to the theory of Buddha having an ‘African origin,’ as he is depicted with the ‘thick Ethiopian lips’ and ‘woolly curls of Negro.’ This theory was initially developed by Edward Moor (1771-1848) and later on supported by Sir William Jones (1746-1794), who supported these theories in ‘The Third Anniversary Discourse’ delivered in Calcutta to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in February 1786. The ‘African origin’ hypothesis continued to hold

Budhasaf, and then to Yudasaf. Later on the word, Yudasaf was changed to Iodasaph in Greek, in the 10th century, and finally the word Iodasaph was converted into Josaphat, in Latin in the 11th century. For detailed discussions, see Chapter 1 in: D. S. Lopez Jr, *From Stone to Flesh: A Short History of the Buddha*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013.

¹³ Urs App, *The Birth of Orientalism*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania, 2010, 181.

sway and evolve into the ‘two Buddha’ hypothesis; the second Buddha was speculated to have come from Scythia.

Around the mid of 19th century, when British explorers started discovering Buddha statues in Gandhara region, from that point onwards, ‘the Buddha curls would look Greek rather than African to the European eye.’¹⁴ Such imaginative constructs were unjustifiable to the people who were concerned about this misrepresentation and scholars such as Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (1877-1947), who abandoned his scientific career and devoted his life to art as a full-time art historian.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, while ‘The Great Game’ was happening in the trans-Himalayan regions,¹⁵ some enthusiastic explorers, who initially had almost no interest in Buddhism, accidentally discovered the great wealth of Buddhist wisdom. One such scholar was Alexander Csoma De-Coros (1784-1842), who is considered as the founding figure of Tibetology. Alexander Csoma hailed from a small village of Coros of Hungary. In his romantic quest to locate the linguistic origins of the Hungarian language and people, Csoma wanted to visit Tibet and search for his ancestral history. As the Tibetan government had

¹⁴ Lopez, *From Stone to Flesh*, 138.

¹⁵ ‘The Great Game’ was a political and diplomatic confrontation developed in 19th century, as the rivalry between the British Empire, the Russian empire, and China on their influence over Tibet and neighbouring territories in Central and Southern Asia.

closed its border for Europeans at the end of the 18th century, Csoma chose to settle down in the Himalayan regions of Ladakh and Kinnaur. These regions had a close affiliation with the Tibetan language and culture and they were under British control so they were relatively accessible to European scholars. Csoma De-Coros was able to compile and publish the first Tibetan-English dictionary.¹⁶

The efforts of scholars such as Csoma De-Coros paved the way for some serious research and textual studies related to tantra texts and iconography through the Tibetan texts. Although, at the beginning, the research work based on Sanskrit textual sources on Buddhism has been ascribed to Hodgson who was on mission to acquire the antiquarian artefacts and manuscripts from Himalayan regions since 1824, it was scholars such as Csoma who immersed himself in an intense study of Tibetan language and Indo-Tibetan Buddhism at the core of its literature. This was the beginning of a serious effort for making tantric Buddhism intelligible for their fellow Europeans.

The prototype of the European concept of Buddhism

Most research work conducted in this era was intended to make Buddhism more plausible to European audiences, suffered from certain rhetorical tropes. This

¹⁶ A Tibetan-Italian dictionary was earlier composed in 1732 by Francesco Della Penna (1680-1745), a Capuchin missionary to Tibet.

rhetoric eventually led to creating the European concept of Buddhism. Much responsibility goes to Eugene Burnouf (1774- 1844) for creating this modern Eurocentric understanding of Buddhism.

Burnouf was one of the first French to work on the manuscripts brought by Hodgson from Kathmandu to the Societe Asiatique of Kolkata. He was fascinated by Buddhism because of ‘the realistic spirit of this doctrine, its materialism and even its ordinariness.’¹⁷ Burnouf, in his monumental text *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme* (1844), managed to impose the Western notion of rationality on this fresh field of unexamined texts of Buddhism, and constructed an intelligible scheme of ideas in his book, which has been described by Max Muller as ‘the most influential scholarly work on Buddhism in the nineteenth century’.¹⁸

In his book, Burnouf devotes a chapter on Buddhist tantra, in which he treats this subject with full disdain. He could not comprehend how scholars such as Alexander Csoma de Kőrös could find ‘some of the tantras beautiful’.¹⁹ Burnouf writes:

¹⁷ Eugene Burnouf, *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism* 2010. Translated by Katia Buffetrille and Lopez Donald S. Jr. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010, 533.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 492.

[These] tantras are indeed treatises with a very special character, where the cult of bizarre or terrible gods and goddesses is combined with a monotheistic system and other developments of Northern Buddhism.

He further states:

It is not my intention to long dwell on this part of the Nepalese collection [of texts on Buddhist tantra], which I am inclined to regard as the most modern of all, and whose importance for the history of human superstitions does not compensate for its mediocrity and vapidness. It is certainly not without interest to see Buddhism, which in its first organization had so little of what makes a religion, end in the most puerile practices and the most exaggerated superstitions.

Burnouf's approach led to the radical reframing of some basic ideas of Buddhist doctrines and presented it as a 'rational,' 'scientific' and 'reformatory' tradition. Burnouf did a French translation one of the most popular Mahayana Sutras that is also rich with the contents of tantric elements, the *Saddharmapundarika-sūtra*, and published it in 1844. The presentation of this text rendered by Burnouf had an overall Western-orientation and although this translation had some flawed

understanding, the text had a good reception and big impact on contemporary scholarship on Buddhism.²⁰ Through his later works too, many misunderstandings found their way to the contemporary common knowledge of Mahayana Buddhist texts.

A typical example of factual mistake could be found in Burnouf's description of *Mahāvāstu*, where Burnouf presented truncated title and erroneously presented the text *Mahāvāstu* as a non-canonical text.²¹ In addition, he mistakenly mentions about *Suvarṇaprabhasa*, a Mahayana Sutra, as a tantra scripture.²²

While the Franco–Belgian Pali scholars were editing the Sanskrit Buddhist texts, the scholars of the Anglo-German school of Buddhist studies started paying some attention to the Sanskrit Buddhist texts and propounded their own views. The German Indologist Hermann Oldenburg (1854-1920), declared that the works of Buddhist Sanskrit literature were by-products of the earlier Pali texts. This was a common tendency of scholars of the British-German school to present the Pali

²⁰ This issue is discussed by Donald S. Lopez Jr in the 'Introduction to the translation' of Burnouf's book.

²¹ *Mahāvāstu* is a part of Mahasanghika Vinaya texts and hence a canonical text of Mahasanghika Nikaya. See the introduction of *Mahāvāstu* edited by J. Jones.

²² Burnouf, *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, 484.

canon as the original one, and the Sanskrit Buddhist literature as later fabricated.²³

24

European scholars and Sanskrit Buddhist texts

In the late 19th century, some foremost European scholars of Franco–Belgian school of European Buddhist Studies focused their research on Buddhist texts in Sanskrit. Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) was one such scholar who worked on the Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhism and published the *La Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale* in 1924. Louse de La Vallee Poussin's (1869-1938), translations took the Franco–Belgian school to another height. By his comprehensive study, Poussin's efforts led to the publication of many French translations of Buddhist texts, such as *Abhidharmakoṣa* of Vasubandhu, (*La' Abhidharmakoṣa de Vasubandhu*) published in 1923 and *Vijñaptimātrtatā-siddhi* of Hiuen-tang (*La Siddhi de Hiuen-tang*) in 1928. In his initial works, Louse de La Vallee Poussin did an extensive

²³ N. N. Bhattacharyya, *History of Researches on Indian Buddhism*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1981, 166-167.

²⁴ However, this position is now very much contested. Through the factual evidence, inscriptional and otherwise, there have been no such strong evidence that verify this theory of Pali being the original language of Buddhism. Had Pali been the language of masses, there must be some existence of folk songs, drama, poetry and other secular literature. However, there does not exist any. There exists just the Theravada Buddhist religious literature in Pali. Therefore, it is now argued that whether Pali may have been a language of people or was it created just for preserving the Buddha's teachings.

study of Mahayana Buddhism and the texts on Buddhist tantra. He ventured into challenging the view that considered Theravada Buddhism as ‘original’ and ‘pure’ form of Buddhism. He vouched for the equal importance of the study of Mahayana and Pali Buddhism. He writes:

The Indologist must study with equal interest the Hinayana (the vehicle of the rationalist monks of which the Pali canon, itself composite, allows us to know only part of the history and the sects) and the diverse churches of the Mahayana, which covered India and all the Orient with a luxuriant profusion of their theologies and rites. One commonly regards idolatrous and superstitious Tantrism as ‘no longer Buddhism’; one forgets that Buddhism is not separable from Buddhists...²⁵

However, Poussin was forced to change his position under the pressure of his fellow scholars.²⁶ We find, Louis de la Vale Poussin drastically changed his opinion and discarded tantric Buddhism as religion full of ‘disgusting practices

²⁵ Wedemeyer, *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism*, 30.

²⁶ C. K. Wedemeyer, “Tropes, Typologies, and Turnarounds: A Brief Genealogy of the Historiography of Tantric Buddhism.” *History of Religions* (University of Chicago Press) 40 (2001), 244.

both obscene and criminal, including incest'.²⁷ He later concluded Buddhist tantra to be a form of 'Hinduism ...in Buddhist garb'.²⁸ Such approaches and misevaluations at the beginning of studies on Buddhism in Europe resulted in neglect and discouragement for any further research or attempt to translate the available materials on Buddhist tantra.

Austine Waddell (1854–1938), another amateur archaeologist and scholar, dismissed tantric form of Tibetan Buddhism as a degeneration of the 'original Buddhism' and coined the term Lamaism. In *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (1895) Waddell writes:

But the bulk of the Lamaist cults comprise much deep-rooted devil worship and sorcery... For Lamaism is only thinly and imperfectly varnished over with Buddhist symbolism, beneath which the sinister growth of poly-demonist superstitious darkly appears.²⁹

As a son of Protestant clergy and a missionary himself, Waddell was conditioned to see all other non-Christian forms of religion as devil worship. While his posting as a British functionary in Sikkim during 1885 to 1895, without

²⁷ J. R. Campbell, "Vajra Hermeneutics: A Study of Vajrayana Scholasticism in the Pradlpoddyotana.", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 2009, 210.

²⁸ Wedemeyer "Tropes, Typologies, and Turnarounds", 247.

²⁹ Austine L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*. London: W. H. Allen & Co. Limited, 1895, xi.

undergoing any training of understanding the metaphors of Vajrayana Buddhism, he just accumulated a vast amount of information on Tibetan Buddhism, especially on ritual practice and popular belief and catalogued it in such a way that his description would only tend to condemn those practices and reinforce the view that Tibetan Buddhism is cultic in nature and obsessed with black magic.

The colonial project of discovering the ‘original Buddhism’

The British colonizers strategically encouraged by their administrative servants and scholars, European as well as Indian, to look for the ‘original’ and ‘pure’ gospel of Buddhism. This ‘pure’ form of religion was meant to be the Pali Tripitaka imported from Ceylon. Several efforts were made to establish the ‘pure’ order’ of Buddhism. The editing and English translation of this pure gospel was the next GOAL that led them to establish the Pali Text Society, founded in London in 1881 by Thomas William Rhys Davids (1843-1922), a British Civil Servant in Foreign Service who served in Ceylon prior to his retirement.

The selective readings of Pali canonical works were so designed as to affirm its reformative temperament suitable to the Protestant theology. The book of Rhys Davids, *Buddhism* was published by The Society for Promoting Christian Language in 1877. It contained the very similar historical criticism about the life of historical Buddha, which was developed by scholars of theological departments for European universities for studying the life of Jesus Christ in the New

Testament.³⁰ On similar lines, another scholar, Albert Joseph Edmunds, published his '*Buddhist and Christian Gospels now first compared from the originals: being Gospels Parallels from Pali Texts*, in 1908.³¹

This phase was the beginning of the rhetoric that espoused certain discourses. One such discourse, which got prominence in the field of Buddhist studies, was advocating the Theravada Buddhism as the original one and denouncing the Mahayana and Vajrayana, as a later degraded offshoot of Buddhism.

Presuppositions and academic appropriation of tantric Buddhism

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, some of the scholars who were well versed in the classical languages of Greek and Latin, endeavoured and self-trained themselves in the classical languages of Asia, especially Sanskrit and Chinese. Thus, they began to read Buddhist texts in the original languages. This was the period when certain stereotypes were developed and deployed to present the East to the West in familiar themes in the European historical and cultural imagination. Nevertheless, the texts of Tantra were seen as a big challenge and for these

³⁰ Bhattacharyya, *History of Researches on Indian Buddhism*, 166.

³¹ Albert Joseph Edmunds, *Buddhist And Christian Gospels Now First Compared From The Originals: Being Gospel Parallels From Pāli Texts*. Philadelphia: Innes & Sons, 1908.

scholars. This was the beginning of the quest for making some sense of Tantric Buddhism.

For the sake of appropriating tantric Buddhism in contemporary academic settings, various models have been deployed and developed in the last century. Characteristically, most of these models have postulated the tantric Buddhism to be a disjuncture from what the early research purported as the ‘original Buddhism’. The academic writings that are based on these models give an ‘outcaste’ treatment to Buddhist tantra. Even the adherent scholars cannot get out of the cliché of European-prototype of Buddhism. The scholars are still grappling with the issue of what they call ‘antinomian aspects’ of Buddhist tantra and therefore, cannot make much sense of this form of religion that advocates the ‘dreadful’ practices.

Most of the studies on Buddhist tantra presume that Tantric Buddhism is incompatible with its preceding Buddhist doctrines. The adherence to the purported theories of the ‘non-Buddhist origin’ of Buddhist tantra, creates this misconception. These theories still predominate over the fields of Buddhist studies.

Some of these ‘origin of Buddhist tantra’ theories, which have become a kind of methodological cliché have been discussed and examined here.

Tantra originating from tribal or primitive religious cults

Many scholars have purported that Buddhist tantra was borrowed from tribal or primitive societies of India.³² It should be noted that contemporary notions about tribes in India are quite vague and overburdened with European cultural imaginations. The typified categorization of tribal community done by British rulers during the colonial period has largely contributed to the distortion of our ideas about Indian tribes. The notion of social and cultural backwardness of the tribal community, which is inherently attached to the modern political sense, is not quite applicable to the traditional structure of the Indian social system.

The textual evidence shows that these so-called tribal people – they are thought to be *outside* of the Brahmanical community – have not been just some autochthonous people living in the primitive state. They rather carried on their sophisticated cultural and diplomatic intercourse with neighbouring Brahmanical polities. *Śārdulakarṇāvadāna*, a narrative from *Divyāvadāna*, which was translated into Chinese by early 2nd century CE, contains a detailed debate between a learned Brāhmaṇa Puṣkarasāriṇī and a tribal Māntanga King named Triśanku. Apart from the scathing criticism of the caste system, the text posits the Māntanga King and his son Śārdulakarṇa, to be well versed in all the Vedas and all other branches of learning. At the end of the story, the tribal king wins the debate, his

³² Bhattacharyya, *History of Researches on Indian Buddhism*, 147.

son marries the daughter of Brāhmaṇa Puṣkarasāriṇī, and Buddha declares that he himself was the tribal king in his previous birth.³³

Considering the acquaintances of Buddhist Siddhas with tribal people's costumes and language, some scholars have postulated the tribal origin theory of Buddhist tantra.³⁴ However, the strong affinity with outcaste groups affirmed by the Buddhist Siddhas was because of their Buddhist anti-caste stand. Their biographical record states that many of them came from the royal families and they composed in vernaculars as well as Sanskrit.

Thus based on the spectrum of specifics such as caste, language, affiliation, and other variables, this model cannot be accountable for the origin of Buddhist tantra.

Did Buddhist tantra originate in medieval India?

This notion is accepted by many contemporary researchers including David Suleiman, Ronald Davidson and others. They extend their line of argument by describing the origin of tantric systems in mediaeval India feudal polity. In their assumptions, these scholars have theorised the tantric practices related to the

³³ *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*:ix.

³⁴ Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002: 171.

sacred Mandala illustrations as a reflection of decentralised medieval Indian polity of Samanta feudalism.

In his works, Ronald Davidson ascertains that there are political ramifications in the usage of the Mandala in tantric rituals. He draws parallels between the structures of spatial allocation for the cosmological deities in the tantric Mandala and power allocation in a feudal state. From his perspective, the Tantric Mandala reflects how, in mediaeval India, Buddhism adopted political imperialism and expressed it into the language of ritual through the lexicons of Tantric Mandala empowerments. He posits the tantra deities and their semiology as an indication for the emergence of Buddhist polity in medieval India and Tibet. As it has been pointed out by David Gellner, Davidson conspicuously does not mention Nepalese Buddhism, which also shared the same tantric Buddhist tradition, as it goes against his hypothesis.³⁵

Moreover, as Christian Wedemeyer has noted, in most researches on Indian feudalism it is observed that there is an apparent attempt to find elements which fit a preconceived picture of what should have happened in India because it

³⁵ David N. Gellner, "Himalayan Conundrum ? A Puzzling Absence in Ronald M. Davidson's *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 27, no. 2 (2004), 411-415.

happened in Europe.’³⁶ Also, Giovanni Verardi has rightly pointed out that the category “feudalism”, which is the object of reconsideration even in Europe, is probably not a structural component of medieval India and thus is not of much help to understand medieval Indian polity.³⁷

The various misconceptions in Davidson’s work are largely due to a lack of awareness of the actual practices, philosophy, and the doctrinal history of Buddhist tantra.³⁸ Moreover, scholars such as Davidson have used tantric textual material extensively. They are well aware of the difficulties of interpreting the religious hagiographical material to a historical fact. However, their hermeneutical biases are clearly visible in their research work. In certain contexts, when the textual material suits their hypothesis, they use them selectively, and when it does not, they playfully discard such materials as fictive and contrived texts.³⁹

Religious animosity/rivalry

³⁶ Wedemeyer, *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism*, 222. See, L Hind, quoted by Wedemeyer.

³⁷ Verardi, ‘Issues in the History of Indian Buddhism’, <https://barc.ryukoku.ac.jp/>, (accessed December 28, 2018).

³⁸ Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 352. Davidson admits, ‘My experience with Buddhist scholars in India, Nepal, and Tibet has been exclusively textual, with little interest displayed towards epigraphy, archaeology, or other sources’.

³⁹ In order to demean the tantric expositions, Davidson prefers the overliteral interpretation of the passages where the erotic contents are explicitly stated in the tantra treatises.

It is not unusual to encounter such iconographic representations in the Buddhist tantra where Buddhist deities are shown to be trampling over non-Buddhist deities. For example, *Sādhnamālā* mentions Buddhist goddess Aparājitā tramples Gaṇeśa and we have several such sculptured images of her. Similarly, Heruka or Cakrasamvara can be seen trampling Rudra and Umā in Tibetan *thangkas*. In some of the texts, such as Udbhaṭṭa Swami's *Viśeṣṭava*, we do find the proclamation of Buddha to be superior to non-Buddhist divinities, such as Viṣṇu and Shiva, and these mentions apparently support this rivalry hypothesis.⁴⁰ Based on such evidence, many scholars have interpreted the iconography of some tantric deities as expressions of religious animosity and interpreted these tantric icons to be an outcome of the rivalry of Hinduism and Buddhism in ancient India.

It should be remembered that it is in the non-tantric non-canonical literature of Buddhism (mostly Buddhist epics), in which we find the arguments that hold the Buddha superior to the worldly (*sāmsāric*) deities such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra. Such representations have been a common feature of kinds of literature that were meant to build a strong faith amongst the followers of a particular tradition. The approach of tantric texts cannot be regarded as the same.

⁴⁰ See, *Viśeṣṭava* for more details. These divinities haven been seen as Similar proclamations are found in the other Buddhist epics such as *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa.

In tantric literature, be it Shaiva or Buddhist, we come across several references, where the violent subjugation of the deities of the ‘other’ tradition is mentioned. However, when seen from the insider’s perspective, these allegorical stories of subjugation of the ‘other’ are strategically designed to denote the supremacy of higher tantric concepts or stages. Some tantra scriptures use it as a strategic style to posit their efficacy. In order to show the infallibility of the power of a mantra, the tantra text such as *Guhyasamāja* and *Hevajra* often use the portrayal of subjugation of Buddhas or killing of Buddhas. The fourteenth Chapter of *Guhyasamāja*-tantra states about a mantra recitation that ‘makes the Buddhas faint out of fear’, ‘destroys the Buddha’, and ‘subjugates even the Vajrasattva’. These texts do not do so to denigrate the Buddhas but to posit the supremacy of the methods of tantra.⁴¹

Such descriptions indicate that as the practitioners gradually make headway in their practices, they had to step over their previous stage, without which the

⁴¹ *Guhyasamāja*-tantra states, ‘By one hundred eight recitation of this [mantra], even the Vajrasattva is subjugated.’, (*..śatāṣṭvārānuccārya vajrasattvopi śīryate*). See, Ch. 14, Verse 50-53. Another verse of same text states, ‘Just by utterance of this mantra, all the great Buddhas got fainted by fear. If performed with proper method, this [matra] will uproot the army of the Buddhas.’, (*...athāsmīn bhāṣitmatre sarva Buddhā mahāśayāḥ, murchhitā bhayamāpede vajrakāyamanusmaran.*) Ch. 14, Verse 12. See, Nyaupane, *Guhyasamāja*-tantra, 2012.

progression is not possible. These progressions are essentially in the internalized mode of some yogic practice or metaphysical principles (Snk. *tattvas*); they are codified in a hierarchic manner and depicted through these deities.

The non-Buddhist tantras also apply a similar strategy. For example in a Shaiva tantra named *Svachhanda-tantra*, a prominent text of Kashmir Shaivism existing since 7th-8th century CE, Svachhanda Bhairava, who represents a higher form of Shiva, ‘stands upon the prostrated corpse of ‘sadā-śiva’.⁴² Similarly, the well-known depiction of Kālī trampling over Shiva is another example of the supremacy of higher principles over the lower one. Therefore, from the insider’s perspective, this notion of rivalry or religious animosity has altogether a different dimension.

Shaivite origin theory

Another major historical narrative that been developed over time presents the Buddhist tantra as a mutated offshoot of Buddhism that developed because of the slavish imitations of competing Shaiva traditions. This purports that tantric Buddhism is ‘Shivaism in the garb of Buddhism.’⁴³

⁴² Alexis Sanderson, “Shaivism and the Tantric Traditions”, In *The World's Religions*, edited by Peter Clarke and Friedhelm Hardy. London: Routledge, 1988, 137.

⁴³ Wedemeyer, *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism*, 22. de La Vallée-Poussin quoted by C. K. Wedemeyer.

Early scholars such as Burnouf have expressed their disappointment at Buddhist tantra. They thought it to be an unfortunate ‘alliance’ of Buddhism with Shaivism ⁴⁴ He posited the origins of tantric Buddhism to be the ‘obvious borrowings that the Buddhists make from the language and practices of the Shivaite.’⁴⁵

In contemporary academia, this ostensible notion of ‘Shaiva origin’ of Buddhist tantras has been re-propagated through Alexis Sanderson’s writings. Because of his meticulous philological skills, his commanding scholarship over Shaivaite sources, and his continuous blaming of the Buddhists for ‘piously plagiarising’ the Shaiva-Āgama, many modern-day academicians have fallen into this trap of methodological solipsism.

Because of the scholarly repetition of this well-trodden theory, most scholars are conditioned to see the Shaiva and Shakta influence on tantric Buddhist literature and hence this discourse pervades extensively in the secondary literature on Buddhist tantra.

Sanderson has developed his hypothesis by quoting some selective passages from Buddhist Tantric literature that appears to be verbatim repetitions

⁴⁴ Burnouf writes, ‘As so many centuries, Buddhism had distinguished itself from Brahmanism, finally ended up making such coalition.’ Burnouf, *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, 504.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 503.

of a Shaiva tantra text.⁴⁶ He also cites some Buddhist legends that point towards the Shaiva influence on Buddhism.⁴⁷ However, he fails to recognize that such one-sided, elusive and exaggerated tales are common features of texts that are written when the motive is to establish a certain religious standpoint. As it has been discussed before, these narratives are frequently found in different Shaiva as well as Buddhist literature in order to proclaim the superiority of one tradition over the other. These narratives reflect the enthusiasm for convincing followers and installing the conviction about the practices. Traditional hermeneutics do not suggest that these tales can be taken as a definitive account.⁴⁸

It is also interesting to note that scholars such as Swami Vivekananda, P. V. Kane and Binoytosh Bhattacharya, based on the very similar facts, as cited by Sanderson, argued just the opposite of the hypothesis presented by Sanderson. They asserted that ‘defiled and downgraded tantra practices’ have Buddhist origin

⁴⁶ Alexis Sanderson, “Vajrayāna: Origin and Function” *Buddhism Into the Year 2000: International Conference Proceedings*. Bangkok and Los Angeles: Dhammakaya, 1995: 89-102.

⁴⁷ Alexis Sanderson, “How Buddhist is the Herukābhīdhānatānta?” www.academia.edu. 6 June 2009, (accessed April 1, 2018).

⁴⁸ As per the Prāsangika School, only the Sūtras, in which the subject matter of the teaching of the Buddha is Emptiness, should be taken as definitive. All other sūtras fall under interpretive statements.

and it was later borrowed by Shaiva-Shakta tantra practitioners from the Buddhist tradition.⁴⁹

Largely, Sanderson's interpretation of Tantra literature is philological in nature and his understanding is devoid of any philosophical precedent of Buddhist tenets, which has been a prerequisite for any traditional monastic tantric systems. When it comes to the interpretation of tantric iconography, like his preceding European scholars, he has ignored the intricacies of symbolism and hermeneutics. According to Sanderson, one can trace the origins of practices and orientations considered quintessentially "Tantric" to early Saivism. To put it in other words, Sanderson's writings account for the hypothesis that Tantric Saivism developed organically from a primitive form of Saivism and this primitive theme that pervades the non-dualist Śaiva traditions caused the development of tantric Buddhism. His works also fail to recognize the theoretical soteriological basis of Buddhist Tantra that is the underlining feature of Buddhism.

⁴⁹ Benoytosh Bhattacharya says, 'it is idle to say that later Buddhism was an outcome of Shaivism...it is also possible to declare without fear of contradiction that it was the Buddhists who were the first to introduce the Tantras into their religion ...Hindus borrowed them from the Buddhists in later times.' See, Benoytosh Bhattacharya, "Buddhist Deities in Hindu Garb." *Proceedings and Transactions of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference Lahore*,. Lahore: University of Panjab, 1930, 1277. Positions of P.V. Kane and Swami Vivekananda have been discussed in this chapter later.

Sanderson's hypothesis supports the borrowing theory by assigning an early date for Shaiva tantra. However, as far as Buddhist tantric elements are concerned, they are very much present in the Buddhist Sutra texts as well which have been dated far older than any Shaiva tantra.^{50 51}

Of course, it is not suggested here that one can rule out the interaction between Shiva and Buddhist tantra traditions. There exists substantial evidence to show the reciprocal exchanges between Shaiva and Buddhist communities, but one also cannot neglect the fact that the philosophical world-views posited by Shaiva and Buddhist tantra and are quite different. While the Shaiva tantra system posits the permanent existence of absolute Shiva consciousness, the Buddhist tantra

⁵⁰ For a detailed discussion, see the antiquary of Mahāmāyūrī discussed in the Third Chapter of this dissertation. There are several versions of *Prjñāpāramitā-sūtras*. The ending *dhāriṇī* of *Prjñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sutra* (Heart sutra) shows a tendency towards the development of the mantra tradition. The recently discovered Gandharan manuscripts have some fragments of *Aṣṭasāhasrika-prjñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Prakrit and it has been dated to 2nd century CE. See, Jens Braarvig and Fredrik Liland, *The Ancient Manuscripts Of Gandharan Buddhism: An Exhibition of Ancient Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*. eBook, Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2010.

⁵¹ In Shaivite tradition one of the earliest texts having tantric orientation that has survived is *Nisvasa-tattva-samhita*. Though it is a 12th century text, some of its earliest portions are believed to be composed around the 4th century CE. However, in the Buddhist Mahayana sutras, which are dated much earlier than the *Nisvasa-tattva-samhita*, exhibit their tantric orientation.

suggests the impermanence of all composite phenomena and posits emptiness as the ultimate truth.

Though the tantra tradition of Buddhism and Shaivism have some similar structural assumptions, and they share a variety of ritual forms, yet both these traditions have a perennial dissimilar basis which has been reflected in their vast amount of scholastic material that was composed in order to debate with the other tradition and to defend one's own position. The commonalities found are because of sharing of common historical time and socio-cultural space by these two traditions – both were vibrantly alive in ancient India. Therefore, it is not cogent to speak of esoteric Buddhism having originated in esoteric Shaivism.

Several Buddhist Sutras have a rich content of Tantric elements and that is already seen in Chinese translations by the 2nd century CE.⁵² Moreover, in the recent findings from Bamiyan, we have come across some very early forms of Mahayana Sutra literature in Prakrit. These early Sutras frequently mention the uses of incantations (Snk. *dhārṇi*) and mantra for Buddhist rituals. In opposition to Sanderson's theory of 'Pious Plagiarism', it is pertinent to note that while the Shaiva tantra texts, in most cases, have been placed around the 8th century to 10th

⁵² *Śārdulakarmāvadāna* was translated in 2nd century CE in Chinese. This text contains the descriptions of the Buddha using mantras. See, *Śārdulakarmāvadāna*, 4-5.

century, from Vasugupta (CE 800-850), the founding figure of non-dual Shaivism in Kashmir, to the prolific Kashmiri tantric scholar Abhinavagupta (CE 975-1025).

Common substratum theory

Another popular hypothesis that has been developed to explain the commonalities of the Shaiva and Buddhist tantric icons postulates that the Buddhist tantra figures have been ‘derived from the same cultic stock that produced Shaiva figure’.⁵³

Stephen Beyer, based on his findings in Tibet where the indigenous cultic traditions have been well synchronized with Buddhist traditions, speculated on this concept of the existence of ‘common religious substratum’. He suggested that Buddhism and Shaivism borrowed the tantra tradition from some pre-existing common primitive substratum of ancient India.

This theory, which has been further developed by David Seyfort Ruegg, has been derived from the premise that the icons and motifs that Shaivite and Buddhists tantra practitioners have been using are still existent in practice in those tribal parts of India that are not affected by religious and cultural influences.⁵⁴ This

⁵³ Sanderson has disapprovingly quoted David S. Ruegg. See, Sanderson, Alexis Sanderson, “Vajrayāna: Origin and Function”, 92.

⁵⁴ Ruegg has further developed his common substratum theory by positing symbiosis the deity’s local cults ‘*laukika*’ with Buddhism *lokottara* (transcendent). See: David S. Ruegg, *The Symbiosis of Buddhism with Brahmanism/Hinduism in South Asia And of Buddhism with*

‘autochthonous’ hypothesis proposed by Ruegg gives a plausible explanation for the appearance of common notions and practices in the Buddhist and Saivite tantra, by proposing them to have their origin in the common substratum of aboriginal and tribal cults of India. The oversight in this argument is rooted in the overemphasized endeavour to find the ‘origins’.

It is evident from available biographical narratives of Buddhist Mahasiddhas that because of their altruistic intention (*Bodhicitta*), these Mahasiddhas choose to renounce the monastic establishments and strived for reaching out to common people in the remotest places, and composed their teachings in vernaculars. They used the motifs and symbols that were familiar to common masses. In their tantric teachings, they successfully articulated the basic doctrinal principles of Buddhism in a non-intricate way, without compromising the nuances and uncommon philosophical worldviews of Buddhism. Therefore their tantric teaching cannot be ascribed to be of ‘primitive’ or having non-Buddhist tribal origin, as they consist of overwhelming doctrinal sophistication of Buddhist philosophy expressed through semiology and poetic metaphors.

A typical example of uses of tribal metaphor can be observed in the uses of tantric-yogic practices formulated by Mahasiddhas. In different tantric manuals

'local cults' in Tibet and the Himalayan region. Wien : Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008, 45-56.

compiled around 8th to 12th century CE, while naming the bodily Central wind-channel, the names used are of low-caste or women, such as *Dombī* and *Chāṇḍālī*.⁵⁵ The manuals of tantric-yogic practices where these names are used do not use these names in the context of any tribal totem. These Mahasiddhas purposely choose the tribal women names for denoting the highest order of tantric practices. These names reflect the Buddhist doctrine that denies the caste or gender hegemony. Within the non-Buddhist yogic tradition, the term used for Central wind-channel is *Suṣumnā* and *Sarasvatī*, the names that are more conventional to the Vedic tradition.

Therefore, the tribal motifs and semiology appear in the tantric teachings because shared the same time and space with the tribal people, to whom the practitioners of tantric Buddhism were communicating these teachings. They choose motifs and language that was familiar to the tribal people culture but the denotative meaning expressed by these metaphorical teachings had their origin, not in the primitive culture but characteristically connected to the philosophical and doctrinal system of Buddhism.

Moreover, as has been discussed earlier, the philosophical exegeses of Shaiva and Buddhist tantra are not common, therefore the same motifs and

⁵⁵ For a detailed discussion on yogic practices and wind channels, see chapter 4 of this thesis.

symbols have different connotations and their function character changes from one tradition to another.⁵⁶

Conclusion (I)

Through the investigative study of different theories, this work seeks to dispel the misconceived notions that exist on Buddhist tantra. The lack of contextualised narrations and assumptions has led to a damaging misunderstanding of tantric Buddhism. In contemporary studies and research on Buddhist tantra, many such theories have been overly repeated without any in-depth analysis of the context in which tantric Buddhist system existed.

Many such theories that persist in the current academia have not paid attention to the traditional historical accounts. The tantric Buddhist tradition has its own way narratives about their texts, the way they have been compiled or discovered, preserved, interpreted, and their chronological records of lineage-transmissions. Due to their inherent esotericism and cryptic linguistic expressions, these tantric texts cannot be treated at par of the simple and ordinarily compositions. They have undergone an elaborate process of formation for many centuries, a process which has many nuances, and ignoring this fact has led to the

⁵⁶ Alex Wayman, *Yoga of The Guhyasamajatantra*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977, 55-56.

diverse and somewhat absurd conclusions that we have re-examined in this chapter.

(Part II)

Transcultural Encounters: Western influence on Indian Scholars

India was in my blood and there was much in her that instinctively thrilled me. Yet I approached her almost as an alien critic, full of dislike for the present as well as for many of the relics of the past that I saw. To some extent, I came to her via the West, and looked at her as a friendly Westerner might have done. I was eager and anxious to change her outlook and appearance and give her the garb of modernity. Yet doubt arose within me. Did I know India? – I, who presumed to scrap much of her past heritage?

- Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* ⁵⁷

In the modern planetary situation, Eastern and Western ‘cultures’ can no longer meet one another as equal partners. They meet in a Westernized world, under conditions shaped by Western ways of thinking.

- W. Halbfass, *India and Europe* ⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, 50.

⁵⁸ W. Halbfass quoted by J. Bronkhorst, See, Johanes Bronkhorst, “Indology and Rationality.” In *Indology: Past Present and Future*, 142-173. Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2002, 142.

The acknowledgement of Western mindset as confessed by the first prime minister of India, who also happened to be one of the finest scholars and a great supporter of Buddhism reflects that majority of Indian scholars of the 19th and 20th century, came to know their own country and tradition via the West. They inherited the same erroneous theoretical frameworks about their culture and religion that represented the European imaginations. This was a reason why many Indian scholars could hardly be appreciative of their own past heritage. They approached it with the curiosity of an impulsive onlooker – they failed to understand their own culture in terms of reverence.

When Orientalist discourse was formulated in the 19th century, it was the Western view of Orient. It was the wisdom of European enlightenment, under which the Western explorers were bringing the ‘exotic’ findings to light – finds that belonged to the ‘mysterious’ and ‘endarkened’ Eastern world. The Oriental discourse was designed in such a way that it could only support those sensibilities that were Western in their orientation. Moreover, for the Easterners, the forgetfulness of their self-historicity and acknowledgement of pervasive endarkenment in their own historical time and cultural space was obligatory so that they could partake in this ‘Oriental Renaissance’.

Tantric Buddhism and the Orientalist tropes

As discussed earlier, within the colonial paradigms, the Buddha and his Dharma were seen from a Western historical perspective. European scholars fashioned the Buddhist doctrines largely in their own image. According to their conceptual frameworks, the idea of objectivity, rationality, scientific temperament, linear progress, and development; all these qualities were shown to be deficient or degraded in the form of Buddhism that was surviving in different parts of the Asian subcontinent.

The famous German-Swiss writer, Hermann Hesse (1877-1962) was disgusted with Theravada Buddhism of Sri Lanka, ‘where the beautiful and bright Buddhism has degenerated into a true rarity of idolatry’, and L. Austine Waddell’s *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (1895), declared that in Tibet Mahayana has been reduced to a cult of demonical Buddha.^{59 60} Therefore, the quest of discovering the ‘original’ Buddhism’ was crucial for oriental studies. Indeed, this quest was heavily biased and had its grounding in racial prejudices. In order to establish colonial hegemony, the oriental scholars devised the mechanism of advocacy for

⁵⁹ Mario Poceski, *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to East and Inner Asian Buddhism*. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2014, 488.

⁶⁰ Austine L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*. London: W. H. Allen & Co. Limited, 1895, xi.

‘scientific truth’ and ‘objectivity’ in their own terms and often deprecated the indigenous traditions and principles.

Exasperated with this purported ‘scientific approach’ of European scholars, Coomaraswamy, a foremost scholar of 20th century observed:

It has been said “the prostitution of scientific truth may lead to word catastrophe” and that “responsibility for this problem in a peculiar sense lies within the domain of Oriental studies”; but it is a question whether much can be expected from passionless reason of our objective scholarship, which concerns itself so much rather with what men have believed than what should be believed.⁶¹

A vast amount of archaeological and textual sources of Buddhism that were newly discovered by the Oriental scholars, generated a new interest in the Indian scholars about their past Buddhist heritage. At the beginning of the 19th century, we see a generation of English educated Indian scholars who were also well equipped with the Western mode of philological training Sanskrit studies. They were inspired by

⁶¹ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The True Scholar: Passages from A.K. Coomaraswamy on Art and Scholarship*. Edited by Roger Lipsey. Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2013, 14.

the magnanimity of Buddhism which produced monuments such as Sanchi, Ajanta, Ellora, and the highly righteous Pali texts and the scholastic treatises of Mahayana. These scholars had genuine admiration for Buddhist traditions and texts.

It is interesting to note that in the 19th century, before the Pali sources were brought to India by British, Rajendra Lal Mitra (1824-91) from Kolkata, worked on Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal. Though he faced ‘racist bashings’ from his Western counterparts, his concern for Buddhist studies and its neglected texts led him to collaborate with another Bengali colleague, Haraprasad Shastri. Their pursuit was for Indic and Buddhist studies, a field that was mostly dominated by European scholars.

Though these scholars had a sympathetic view towards Buddhism and its philosophy, however, when it came to the tantric tradition of Buddhism, the sources available to them were largely researched and presented from the Western point of view and scarcely represented the traditional perspective. Moreover, these texts were heavily infused with words having multivalent meanings, and in the

absence of hermeneutical renderings, as done by the traditional commentaries, these texts were incomprehensible for these Sanskrit scholars.⁶²

Due to the lack of traditional knowledge and understanding, these scholars went for the over-literal interpretation of the texts and failed to apprehend the meaning in practices of Buddhist tantra. Rajendra Lal Mitra was troubled by his findings of ‘most revolting and horrible practices’ in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.⁶³ In his *Introduction of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature* (1882), he propounded that the tantric practices are, ‘the most revolting and horrible that human depravity could think of.... would doubtless, be best treated as the ravings of a madman.’⁶⁴

Similarly, P. V. Kane (1880-1927), another foremost Sanskritist, expressed a disapproving outburst against Buddhist tantra. Kane, in his fifth volume of

⁶² Some Westerner scholars, such as Stcherbatsky, were privileged in the sense that they had the access to Buddhist scholars from Tibet and Mongolia who were trained adequately in traditional knowledge through monastic education system.

⁶³ This bewilderment was also an outcome of adopting trans-positioned Western mode of rendering the east. As the Indian scholars such as Mitra, were unaware existence of traditional knowledge and the hermeneutics of Buddhist tantra they were grappling with a fictitious issue, as it was non-existent within the tradition. See, Rajendralal Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882, 160.

⁶⁴ Christian K. Wedemeyer in his book *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism*, calls it as ‘Mitra’s quandary’. He raises a similar question, ‘What sense can one make of a religious traditions that seems to advocate behaviours that most sane human beings would consider aberrational at best), if not criminal or pathological?’ See, Wedemeyer, *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism*, 2-3.

History of Dharmashastra, wrote a full chapter on Buddhism; he writes, ‘It has become a fashion to praise Buddha and his doctrines to the skies’. He adds that ‘as a counterblast to what modern economists often say about Buddhism the present author will quote a strongly-worded (but not unjust) passage from Swami Vivekananda’. Kane approvingly quotes Vivekananda:

I smile when I read books written by some modern people who ought to have known better, that the Buddha was the destroyer of Brahmanical idolatry in India....in spite of the preaching of mercy to animals, in spite of the sublime ethical religion and hair-splitting discussions about the existence and non-existence of permanent soul, the whole building of Buddhism tumbled down piecemeal; and the ruin was simply hideous. I have neither the time nor the inclination to describe to you the hideousness that came in the wake of Buddhism. The most hideous ceremonies, the most horrible, the most obscene books that human hands have ever written or the human brain ever conceived, the most bestial forms that ever passed under the name of religion, have all been creation of degraded Buddhism.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ P V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Vol. V (ii). Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1941, 1029-1030.

Vivekananda has remarked, ‘They [tantric Buddhists] believed in nothing but the enjoyment of the moment, which eventually resulted in the most revolting orgies. That, however, is not the doctrine of Buddha, but a horrible degeneration of it, and honour to the Hindoo nation, who stood up and drove it out.’⁶⁶

For the Indian scholars, it was not just the case of Buddhist tantra, even the scholastic works of Mahayana philosophy, such as works of Nagarjuna or Dignaga, did not make much sense. Due to their training under the European pedagogy, they often unconsciously shaped their ideas according to the Western thought-process. This negligence was so pervasive that even the scholars from traditional centres of learning were deeply affected.

In the middle of the 20th century, scholars such as D. N. Shastri made some unsuccessful attempt to find Indian scholars in Varanasi, who could interpret the nuances of debate between the Buddhists and Naiyāyikas in the philosophical treatises of these traditions. As the traditional Indian scholars could not render the intricacies of the doctrinal differences of Buddhism satisfactorily, he finally had

⁶⁶ Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*. Vol. II, IX vols. Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1907, 509.

to follow these trails through the works of a well-known Russian Indologist, Stcherbatsky.⁶⁷

Another scholar, Benoytosh Bhattacharya, who is considered an authority on Buddhist tantra iconography acknowledged his limitation about his ignorance of the practical aspects of Buddhist tantra. He, in his essay published in 1964, writes:

Before I describe the process of visualizations of [Buddhist] divinities, I must clearly mention that I am not a tantra practitioner myself and I have no experience of any spiritual realization. Therefore, whatever I am mentioning here is just based on the books that I have consulted.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ In his book, Shastri wrote a eulogy for this immense contribution made by this Russian scholar who laid the foundations of scholarly study of Buddhist logic in the Western world. See the salutation page of his book: Dharmendra Nath Shastri, *Critique of Indian Realism: A Study of the Conflict Between the Nyaya-Vaisheshika & the Buddhist Dignaga School*. Agra: Agra university, 1964.

⁶⁸ Benoytosh Bhattacharya, "Bauddha Sadhna." In *Kalyaan Sadhana Ank*, edited by Hanuman Prasad Poddar. Gorakhpur: Gita Press, 1940, 367.

Extra-Indian origin theory of Buddhist tantra

In the 20th-century Indian scholars, under the influence of the West, found tantra texts to be offensive. The interpretive conundrums presented by the European scholars lead them to develop a discourse that advocated for the non-Indian origin of Buddhist tantra.

Saint-scholars such as Swami Vivekananda was unable to comprehend tantric antinomianism. He emphasized that tantra came from Mongols and Tibetan.⁶⁹ He states, ‘Indian Buddhists imitated the Tibetan and other barbarous customs of religion and assimilated their corruption, and then introduced them into India.’⁷⁰

Harprasad Shastri also proposed the non-Indian origin theory of tantra.⁷¹ This extra-Indian-origin theory was later on propounded in a more scholarly manner by P. C. Bagchi. He writes:

[A] number of foreign elements were introduced in the tantra, most probably, between the 8th to 12th century, when communication with

⁶⁹ Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works*. Vol. IV, 362.

⁷⁰ Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works*. Vol. V, 317. However when it came to the antinomian activities, such as practice of five “Ms” (*pancamakāra*), they hesitated to ascribe it a Śakta practice and blamed Buddhists for bringing these elements.

⁷¹ Bhattacharyya, *History of Researches on Indian Buddhism*, 97.

Tibet, China, and Mongolia became brisk. But these cults lost their exotic character, as they fitted well, in the logical sequence, into a completely integrated system.⁷²

This extra origin theory of Buddhist tantra was continued by Harprasad Shastri's son, Binoytosh Bhattacharya. His works on Buddhist iconography reflect that he derived his epistemological assumptions from Western scholars such as William A. Foucher.⁷³ In his remarkable compendium on Buddhist tantra iconography, which later became a guiding text for the next generation of scholars, he has treated tantric tradition as 'magical ritualism' and 'sorcery'.⁷⁴ He unhesitatingly accepted that Tantrism was of foreign origin. In his famous work on the history of Esoteric Buddhism, he declared, 'the introduction of the Shakti worship in religion [of Buddhism] is so un-Indian that we are constrained to admit it as an external or foreign influence.'⁷⁵

⁷² P. C. Bagchi, "Evolution of the Tantras." In *Studies on the Tantras*, 8-25. Kolkata: The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 1989: 23.

⁷³ See the introduction of *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*. Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1958.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 2-4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

Binoytosh Bhattacharya also ridiculed the possibility of Shaiva influence on Buddhist tantra. He posited that it was Hindus who borrowed the tantra from Buddhists. He remarked, ‘it is idle to say that later Buddhism was an outcome of Shaivism’. He further confirmed, ‘it is also possible to declare without fear of contradiction that it was the Buddhists who were the first to introduce the Tantras into their religion ...Hindus borrowed them from the Buddhists in later times.’⁷⁶

Scholars such as P. C. Bagchi have pointed out to the terminology such as Cīna in Mahācīna-tārā and a *sādhana* of Ekajaṭā-tārā brought by Nagarjuna from Tibet.⁷⁷ This is mentioned in the 12th century text *Sādhanamālā* that quotes *ārya-nāgarjuna-pādair-bhōṭeṣu-uddhṛitam*.⁷⁸ However, as it has been pointed out that this mistaken interpretation of ‘bringing from Tibet’, is due to lack of thoughtful analysis of Case Structure (*Śabda-rūpa*) of Sanskrit grammar.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Deities in Hindu Garb*, 1277.

⁷⁷ N. N. Bhattacharyya, *History of the Tantric Religion: A Historical, Ritualistic, and Philosophical Study*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1982, 110.

⁷⁸ *Sādhanamālā*, 71.

⁷⁹ Janardan Pandey and Thinleyram Shashani, “Sādhanmālā Ke Chār Pariśiṣṭ.” *Dhīh: A Review of Rare Buddhist Texts*, (Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies) V (1988), 81. The Ablative/Fifth case-structure (*pañcami vibhakti*) is used in Sanskrit if someone brings a thing from somewhere. However, the Locative/Seventh case (*saptami vibhakti*) is used in *Sādhanamālā* reference. This signifies that this *sādhana* (practice) was existent in Tibet when the text was compiled.

Likewise, the reductionist approach of N. N. Bhattacharyya posited the Hindu and Buddhist tantra to be a 'fertility cult' based on religion which is centred on worship of 'the Female Principle' who in turn stood for the oppressed people, symbolizing all the liberating potentialities in the class divided, patriarchal and authoritarian social set up of India.⁸⁰ He advocated the foreign origin theory and proposed that Buddhist tantra texts were fake creations and were not part of 'the Original Buddhism'. In his judgmental opinions, he writes, 'Within their monasteries, they [Buddhists] formed secret societies of their own, composed texts dealing with their ideas and practices and got them sanctioned as *Buddha Vacanas*.'⁸¹ Based on the fourfold divisions of Buddhist tantra classification, he erroneously assumes the same system of classification for Shakta Tantra.⁸²

On the very similar lines, the advocates of modern Hinduism could not conceive the philosophical profundity of surviving Shaiva, Vaishnava and Shakta tantra. They blamed this 'degeneration' of their 'pure religion' to Buddhism.

⁸⁰ N. N. Bhattacharyya, "Chinese Origin of the Cult of Tara." In *The Śakti Cult and Tara*, edited by D C Sirkar, 143-146. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1960: 143-144.

⁸¹ Bhattacharyya, *History of the Tantric Religion*, 86.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 88.

The portrayal of Buddhist Tantra in Hindi Literature

It is imperative to note that erroneous views about Buddhism and its tantric traditions had their influences over other disciplines. At the beginning of the 20th century, we find that some prominent scholars of Hindi who were writing on different aspects of Indian culture, religion and literature, started incorporating mistaken interpretations of the Buddhist Tantras. Ramachandra Shukla, a leading scholar of Hindi literature in the early 20th century, in his book, *Hindi Sāhitya kā itihās* (History of Hindi Literature), commented on the literature of Buddhist Siddhas. These tantric Siddhas have been regarded as the earliest poets of Apabhramsa, an older form of Hindi.

Ramachandra Shukla attributed the literature of Siddhas as a perverted and degraded form of Buddhist writings. He criticized these Buddhist Siddhas for ‘taking the left-handed path of Hindu tantra to its extreme’. Shukla states, ‘by writing their poetic works in vernaculars, they [Siddhas] not only fall down in the degraded state themselves but also misled the common mass to fall down in the dirty trench of Tantra.’⁸³

⁸³ This hypothesis is based on presumptions that when the Buddhist were defeated and lost their dominance over the monarchies, they tried to influence the common masses through their sorcery and magical practices. However, the new researches have proven such hypothesis inadequate the historical findings revealed that theses Siddhas even after their renouncement of

Hazari Prasad Dwivedi (1907-1979) was another well-known scholar of Hindi literature who wrote extensively on the Apabhramsa literature of Buddhist Siddhas and Nathas. He considered the tantra texts to be the part of folk and tribal superstitious literature.⁸⁴ His successors, such as Dharamvir Bharti (1926–1997), and Nagendranath Upadhyaya (1931-1999), in their writings, followed the same pattern. Though, on the issue of antinomianism, these scholars propose the simplistic theory that the Siddhas deliberately invoked such practices in their poetry so that they could mock the rigidity of caste hierarchy and other orthodoxy principles of non-Buddhist systems. Dwivedi admits, ‘these unusual Saints entered into the field of practices with the great courage of rejecting all the external ritualistic traits.’⁸⁵ However, he fails to recognise the inherent metaphysical principles behind all the tantric ritualistic systems. He speculates that these Buddhist saints had a folkish background and therefore they had no familiarity with the doctrinal and philosophical aspects of Buddhism. He writes, ‘if we start collecting the antinomian verses of these Sahajayānis, Yogis and Tāntrics, it will

monastic life, they held respected position in monarchs and several of these siddhas came from royal families.

⁸⁴ Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, *Hindi Sahitya Ki Bhumaika*. Bombay: Nathuram Premi, Hindi-Granth-Ratnakar Karyalaya, 1948, 1-15.

⁸⁵ Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, *Madhyakālin Dharm Sādhna*. Allahabad: Sahitya Bhawan, 1970, 78.

be a huge amount of literature, however, there is no need of it because it is not an easy task to retain patience after looking at even few verses.’⁸⁶

Dharamvir Bharti was another scholar of Hindi literature who researched on Tantric Buddhist literature. His research was based on textual sources, mostly the Apbhramsa literature of Siddhas. He writes:

The scholars of Hindi who have studied and interpreted these tantric practices have not adequately analysed them in the context of its social background. Either they have interpreted them in a pure spiritual symbolical manner or they have interpreted them as a despicable rebel against suppressed human nature. Some of them also believed that the tantric master adopted such practices in order to gain influence over people of lower strata. Most of the interpreters of Tantric literature have these opinions.⁸⁷

Like most of his contemporary scholars who wrote on Buddhism, the early writings of Rahul Sankrityayan (1893-1963) disparage the literature of Buddhist

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 79,

⁸⁷ Dharamvir Bharti, *Siddh Sahitya*. Prayag (Allahabad): Kitab Mahal, 1955, 75-96.

tantra.⁸⁸ However, in his later works, which he wrote after his three visits to Tibet, after coming into direct contact with Tibetan tradition; he shifted his views.^{89 90}

Indian archaeologists were also overburdened with the persuasive Orientalist analysis of Buddhism, which treated it in a monolithic and mono-linear fashion, devoid of any element of popular religion. As these Indian archaeologists inherited the same notions from their British predecessors about a non-heterogeneous aspect of Buddhism, they too were willing to dismiss or make excuses for evidence that did not conform to their preconceived notions.

The tantric deities or other folk icons, such as serpent idols, found in the excavation were not acknowledged as a part Buddhist tradition. Archaeologists such as Hiranand Sastri in his report *Nalanda and Its Epigraphic Material* (1942)

⁸⁸ Rahul Sankrityayan, *Buddha Charya*. Sarnath, Banaras: Mahabodhi Sabha, 1952, 9-14.

⁸⁹ Rahul Sankrityayan, *Puratattva Nibandhavalī*. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1958, 109-130.

⁹⁰ Rahul Sankrityayan, *Dohā-kośa*. Patna: Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, 1957, 66. In his writings, Rahul Sankrityayan expressed about his struggle with the interpretation of Tantric texts even in Tibet, especially about the Caryā Songs composed by the tantric Siddhas. In Tibet, as he reports, "I could not find any scholar who could interpret the language and the contained emotions of the songs of ancient Indian Tantric adepts." From his acute observations on the historicity of Tibetan writings, it is reflected that he did not accept the Tibetans sources blindly and tried to corroborate them with the Sanskrit textual sources.

wrote, 'Buddhists would not worship *Nagas* along with the deities of their own faith.'⁹¹

These simplistic and teleological notions were challenged by A. Coomaraswamy, who was in favour of seeing the synthesis between folk religion and Buddhism. He advocated that these two traditions coexisted as siblings.

Corrective Voices

For centuries, Buddhism was not a living tradition in India and for this reason, the Buddhist tantra texts were often subjected to misapprehensions and misquoted. In the late 20th century, people such as Gopinath Kaviraj (1887-1976) and Thakur Jaideva Singh (1893-1986) were some of the foremost Indian scholars who had some respect for the tantric traditions of India and they endeavoured to work upon some of the obscure tantra texts of Kashmir Shaivism. Gopinath Kaviraj acknowledged that it was a mistake to treat Buddhist tantra as downgraded practice and accepted it as a 'spiritual tradition of a high order'. He cautioned the scholars not to denounce its doctrine as hideous or immoral.⁹² Prior to these scholars, Ananda Coomaraswamy considered tantra to be a topic worthy of its own study.

⁹¹ Hiranand Shastri, *Memoirs Of The Archaeological Survey Of India No. 66 Nalanda And Its Epigraphic Material*. Delhi: Archaeological Survey Of India, 1941, 117.

⁹² Gopinath Kaviraj, "'Bhumika'." In *Bauddha Dharma Darshan*, by Acharya Narendra Dev, 11-48. Patna: Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, 1956, 11-48.

Ananda Coomaraswamy wrote in brief, but impressive articles on traditions related to tantra. Despite the important insights that were being provided by scholars like Coomaraswamy, his contemporaries such as Bitoytosh Bhattacharya were not appreciative of those earnest efforts.⁹³ Such attitude of pro-British scholars failed to challenge the problematic assumptions of the 19th century, and thereby our contemporary notions about Buddhist tantra still perpetuates with some of the earlier unsubstantiated suppositions.

When the *Pradīpodyotanaṭīkā*, a Sanskrit commentary of *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, brought by Rahul Sankrityayana from Tibet was published in 1983, in its introduction Suniti Kumar Pathak observed:

It does not mean that *Guhyasamāja-tantra* encourages to discard social laws. Benoytosh Bhattacharya could not make sense of [its] verses as he had no opportunity to have *Pradipodyotana* commentary of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*... What to speak of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* or the *Hevajra-tantra*, no tantra, whether Buddhist, Vaishnava, Shaiva, Shakta or Jaina, ever teach any sort of immoral conduct contradictory to the ethics and social laws... The commentary, therefore, warns again

⁹³ See the deliberations in the introduction part of *Sādhana*, cxxx-cxxxiv.

and again that any amount of carelessness or failure on the part of a practitioner will put him into utter ruin.⁹⁴

Conclusion (II)

Invariably the traditional expressions of Buddhist tantra have been suppressed and overly dominated by Eurocentric baggage. Most scholars have been preoccupied with their own speculative notions and have ignored the voices in which the tantric tradition has expressed itself, and it is unjust to identify a vibrantly living religion apart from its traditional practitioners.

In order to overcome the damaging understanding of Buddhist tantric system, the tantric treatise needs to be studied and analysed with a fresh perspective. The gradual increase in the translations of commentaries of tantric texts and the availability of traditional Tibetan monastic interpreters has opened up new prospects for academicians to incorporate the traditional view in their research. This could be useful for other traditions of tantra as well. Swami Vivekananda has perceptively observed that in the contemporary sphere of Indic religion, it is tantric traditions which is pervasive:

⁹⁴ *Pradīpodyotanāṭikā*, 24-25.

To call ourselves in the sense of following the *Karmakāṇḍa* of the Vedas, I do not think, would be proper...In our ordinary lives we are mostly Paurāṇikas or Tāntrikas, and, even where some Vedic texts are used by Brahmins of India, the adjustment of the texts is mostly not according to the Vedas, but according to the Tantras and Purāṇas.⁹⁵

Any discipline of the scholarship is not just concerned about just collecting the data, but also understanding them in their own context. Besides the question of ‘what’ they represent, the question of ‘why’ and ‘how’ are equally important. As Ananda Coomaraswamy has pointed out, ‘For as long as the work of art appears to us in any way exotic, bizarre, quaint, or arbitrary, we cannot pretend to have understood it.’⁹⁶ Therefore, unless a discrete and unbiased study of the historicity of Buddhist tantra, encompassing the perspective of tradition is not done, the misconceptions discussed in this chapter are bound to persist in our academia.

⁹⁵ Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works*. Vol. III, 263-265.

⁹⁶ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *A True Scholar*, 14.

CONCLUSION

Buddhist tantra places some of the female deities at the pinnacle of its pantheon. These deities are female personification of supreme awakening and symbolize the highest spiritual goals including Buddhahood. They are called Buddha-Dākinī or Jina-jananī – the female Buddhas – regarded as an enlightened mind depicted in female form. The word ‘Buddha’ is concerned with the concept of awakening and therefore transcends the notion of gender, however, due to our cultural baggage, it reflects a male figure in our minds.

This thesis advocates the necessity of exploring the nuances of visualization of Tantric Buddhist imagery within the context of the texts and practice of tradition. For a comprehensive understanding of the visual forms of goddesses and other tantra deities, attention must be paid to the linguistic expressions in the form of mantra, liturgical expositions, and the details of iconic attributes. They all are equally important as they frame the systematic organization of these visual forms, their specific concepts and the associated emotive expressions.

Most of the studies on Buddhist tantra have identified tantric Buddhist goddesses as either an import from the non-Buddhist tradition or the result of aftermath development of primitive or tribal religion. Such scholarly habits are

difficult to change – they have yielded some plausible interpretative models that we have been used consistently and not subjected to a critical analysis. Ascribing Buddhist tantra to be of tribal origin is one such habit that can be seen within the domain of studies on Indian religion. In order to contextualize tantric traditions in their socio-political, cultural and material milieu, scholars often fixate on this well-trodden ‘tribal-origin’ theory, so that the traditions of Buddhist tantra can be appropriated to justify the scholars’ ideology.

Readers of historical literature are familiar with this rhetoric of tribal origin, which has been redeployed and reinforced for those religious traditions, which were esoteric in nature and were not part of mainstream religion. Holding the notion that the origins of a thing determine its fundamental nature, once a religious practice is concluded to have a tribal origin, it can easily be designated as cultic, marginal, and sometimes superstitious. Thus, such religious traditions become exotic, primitive, and therefore rather nonsensical to historians. The historians thereafter just have to construct paradigmatic socio-political context within which associated motifs of deities and rituals can be appropriated.

Some researchers on Buddhist tantra have attempted to contextualize the tantric deities by speculating on their non-Buddhist association.¹ The hypothesis built in the research presented here, on the other hand, exemplifies the manner in which Buddhist tantra gradually developed from its Mahayana scholastic tradition in the monastic settings and uses the symbolic visualization practices for achieving pure gnosis or wisdom (*prajñā*). While wisdom is feminine aspect of the wisdom of Emptiness (*śūnyatā*), it is also referred as the Ultimate *Bodhicitta*; the altruistic intention (*Upāya*) is the male aspect and referred as conventional *Bodhicitta*.² The union of two, often depicted through the erotic union of tantric deities, is the fundamental doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism.

While Emptiness negates the absolutist or intrinsic nature of material and mental phenomena, altruistic intention provides the basis and guiding principle in accordance with which the material and mental phenomena should be perceived and acted upon. These two principals provide the theoretical bases for rituals and practices for Buddhist tantra system.

¹ They follow the 'theory of borrowing' form Śaivite tradition and postulate the incorporation of Śaiva-Śakta deities into Buddhist fold. This theory is discussed in detail in the first chapter of this thesis.

² *Bodhicitta* means a mind that possesses enlightenment; however, conventional *Bodhicitta* connotes to an altruistic mind which aspires to become Buddha to benefit sentient beings.

Most of these practices were already part of earlier phases of Buddhism but they remained esoteric and were not compiled and given a systematic form in the early phase of Buddhism. Around 8th century CE, the literature and practices of tantric form of Buddhism was made available for Buddhist monastics to discuss, debate and to write commentarial literature and thus tantra tradition was accorded with a formal institutionalized structure in the Vikramashila and Nalanda monastic universities. These monastic universities were headed by the saint-scholars who got their Buddhist ordination in one of the eighteen Nikāya schools of Buddhism but followed the Mādhyamika or Yogācāra philosophy of Mahayana Buddhism and successfully provided an adequate articulation of the tantric Buddhist tradition. Their articulations not only encompassed the doctrinal and cultural viewpoints but also employed the systematic use of scriptural injunctions and hermeneutics.

The philosophical viewpoints in somewhat cryptic language in the tantric texts were elucidated and interpreted in the commentaries authored by these monastic scholars. These commentaries provide an insiders' perspective and provide rationale for the seemingly antinomian practices of Buddhist tantra.

From the analysis of these tantric texts, it can be observed that the symbolism of tantra has a profound pragmatic basis inherent in it. Similar to any scientific research procedure in which experimental facts are correlated with mathematical symbols to work out a mathematical model, tantric masters also

discover the practices by experimenting with their own psyche and the results obtained from their experiments are given a schematic form. This scheme is modelled as an anthropomorphic form and it symbolises some yogic practices in an abstract manner. However, tantric texts are silent on or speak metaphorically about these symbols in order to avoid their trivialization.

Whereas in the other Buddhist traditions, feminine imageries are almost absent, or given an lesser position, Buddhist tantra is vibrantly rich with the iconography of Female tantric deities. Their imagery may range from a goddess depicting the emotion of blissful serenity of meditative concentration or an enraged bloodthirsty goddess depicting the emotion of wrath and passion. A deeper understanding of the feminine tantric iconography reveals that much of the symbolic elements of tantra have been derived from an insightful pragmatic basis, which is often esoteric in nature.

These female tantric deities symbolize the wisdom aspect of the enlightened mind. The tantric manuals suggest that the figures are not icons of beings, be it God or human, but that they are icons of ideas in a stylized mode. While the depiction of peaceful and wrathful goddesses may have similar features, there always exists some striking difference between the levels of potency in their representations.

There are the particular details, such as their colour or the implements held by these deities, which symbolically lead to a deeper understanding of what these

female deities represent. However, with their literature encoded in symbolism and their practices veiled in secrecy, the tantric iconography has been inappropriately assessed by scholars who were unaware of the nuances and esoteric concepts of the Buddhist tantra.

The case study of Buddhist tantra goddesses studied in this research tries to contextualize their associated rituals, imagery, visualizations practices dealt in in the traditional manuals that has evolved over the time. These elements have remarkable religious significance as they propoled some specifics of tantra tradition within the overarching canopy of Buddhism. These deities also present a unique example of the composite culture of Hindu and Buddhist traditions of Himalayan regions of Indian sub-continent.

The symbolism and iconographic elements inherent in their imagery have been a vital communicative device for Buddhist practitioners as they convey the abstractness of some profound tantric-yogic practices. Moreover, the proliferation of local narratives and associated with these goddesses and pilgrimage palaces signify the fact that they play an important role within the common masses as well as the monastic practitioners.

At present the Buddhist communities in the Himalayan regions of India and across the Asia are experimenting with constructive ritualism and carrying their religious heritage and keeping alive a centuries-old tradition of Buddhism. These

practices related to tantra goddesses can be considered as a potential resource for better understanding Buddhist rituals that might have prevailed in ancient India.

Also, one should also keep in mind that in tantric Buddhism, the concept of a goddess appears in the framework of non-theism, which means that there is no external supreme being, and hence all religious symbols of a divinity, rituals, and doctrines have just conventionaliy existence (*samvriti-satya*) rather than being the ultimate truth (*paramārtha-stya*).

APPENDIX

पञ्चरक्षादेवीस्तोत्राणि ¹

(PAÑCARAKṢĀDEVĪSTOTRĀNI)

(THE HYMNS OF PANCARAKṢĀ GODDESSES)

१ महाप्रतिसरास्तोत्रम्

1 mahāpratisarāstotram

(Hymn of Mahāpratisarā)

ॐ नमः श्रीमहाप्रतिसरायै

om namah śrīmahāpratisarāyai

(Salutation to Śrī-mahāpratisarā)

तथागताद्यास्तथतां तत्त्वमापुर्महत्तरम्।

धारणीधारणाद्यस्याः प्रतिसरां नमामि ताम् ॥ १ ॥

¹ The Sanskrit version of these hymns is taken from *Bauddha-stōtra-saṅgrah* of Janardan Shastri Pandey, (J. S. Pandey 1994, 112-114). This English translation is done by the author.

tathāgatādyāstathatām tattvamāpurmahattaram /

Dhāraṇīdhāranādyasyāḥ pratisarām namāmi tām // 1 //

(Through possession of her Dhāraṇī, the Tathāgatas attained their *tathatā* (enlightenment) and [realization of] the *tattva* (superlative reality), prostrations to that Pratisarā.)

रणे शक्रोऽजयदैत्यान् धारणीध्वजधृग् बहून्।

संग्रामजयदां भीमां प्रतिसरां नमामि ताम्॥ २॥

rane śakro'jayaddaityān Dhāraṇīdhvajadhrg bahūn /

samgrāmajayadām bhīmām pratisarām namāmi tām // 2 //

(In the war against various demons, the Dhāraṇī [written] on the flag bestowed the victory upon the king of gods, salutation to that gigantic Pratisarā.)

यत्प्रभावाद् ब्रह्मदत्तोऽलभद् राज्यमकण्टकम्।

सार्वभौमप्रदां देवीं प्रतिसरां नमामि ताम्॥ ३॥

yatprabhāvād brahmadatto'labhad rājyamakantakam /

sārvabhaumapradām devīm pratisarām namāmi tām // 3 //

(The efficacy of which caused the Braḥmadatta to gain his kingdom back, salutations to that Pratisarā, the granter of all kinds of auspiciousness.)

बह्वपराधोऽपि यद्भक्तो राज्याधिकारमाप्तवान्।

शस्त्रादिभीतिसंहर्त्रीं प्रतिसरां नमामि ताम् ॥ ४ ॥

bahvaparādhō'pi yadbhakto rājyādhikāramāptavān /

śastrādibhītisamhatrīm pratisarām namāmi tām // 4 //

(Salutations to that Pratisarā, whose devotees are freed from the fears of weapons and numerous offences and attain the authority statesmanship.)

रत्नान्यवापुर्वणिजो यां स्मृत्वोदधिनिर्गताः।

सर्वबाधाप्रशमनीं प्रतिसरां नमामि ताम् ॥ ५ ॥

ratnānyavāpurvanijo yām smrtvodadhinirgatāḥ /

sarvabādhāprasamanīm pratisarām namāmi tām // 5 //

(Recollecting her [Dhārāṇī], the merchant sailors sail [safely] with their jewels through the oceans, the subduer of all the obstacles, salutations to that Pratisarā.)

श्रीमहाप्रतिसरारक्षादेवीस्तोत्रं समाप्तम्।

śrīmahāpratisarārakṣhādevīstotram samāptam /

(Here ends the hymn of protector goddess Śrī-mahāpratisarā.)

२ महामन्त्रानुसारिणीस्तोत्रम्

2 mahāmantrānusārīṇīstotram

(Hymn of Mahāmantrānusārīṇī)

ॐ नमः श्रीमहामन्त्रानुसारिण्यै

om namah śrīmahāmantrānusārīnyai

Om salutations to Mahāmantrānusārīṇī

बुद्धाधिष्ठानतो बुद्धाभयदां भयनाशिनीम्।

भवाम्बुधिनिमग्नानां नमो मन्त्रानुसारिणीम् ॥ १ ॥

*buddhādhishthānato buddhābhayadām bhayanāśinīm /**bhavāmbudhinimagnānām namo mantrānusārīṇīm // 1 //*

(Salutations to that Mantrānusārīṇī, [she is] the abode of enlightenment of Buddhas,
 granter of fearlessness to the Buddhas, annihilator of frights of those who are sunk into
 the oceans of *samsāra*.)

यन्मन्त्रोच्चारणादेव षडीतयः सुदारुणाः।

नाशं प्रयान्ति वरदां नमो मन्त्रामुसारिणीम् ॥ २ ॥

*yanmantroccāranādeva shadītayah sudārunāh /**nāśam prayānti varadām namo mantrāmusārīṇīm // 2 //*

(By just chanting of the mantra, the six- epidemics ² are vanquished, salutations to that Mantrānusārīṇī who grants the blessing.)

मन्त्रानुसारिणो लोकान् नान्ये मन्त्रादयो ग्रहाः।

पीडयन्ति प्रियांश्चापि नमो मन्त्रानुसारिणीम् ॥ ३ ॥

mantrānusārino lokān nānye mantrādayo grahāḥ /

pīdayanti priyāṁścāpi namo mantrānusārīṇīm // 3 //

(Those who follow the mantra of Mantrānusārīṇī, need no other mantras, they are never harmed by the malicious-planets and they become beloved of every one, salutations to that Mantrānusārīṇī.)

बुद्धोऽभ्यभाषद् गाथास्ता यन्मन्त्रकथनान्तरम्।

याभिः सर्वत्र स्वस्ति स्यान्नमो मन्त्रानुसारिणीम् ॥ ४ ॥

buddho'bhyabhāṣad gāthāstā yanmantrakathanāntaram / yābhiḥ sarvatra svasti

syānnamo mantrānusārīṇīm // 4 //

² The six *īṭis* (disasters or epidemics) are: 1. Excessive rain; 2. Drought; 3. Locusts; 4. Rats; 5. Parrots; and 6. Foreign invasion.

(After the narration of her mantra, the Buddha gives his teaching; it (her mantra) causes everything to become auspicious, salutations to that Mantrānusariṇī.)

कलौ बुद्धविहीनेऽस्मिन् लोकानां हितमाचरेत्।

पापोत्पातप्रशमनीं नमो मन्त्रानुसारिणीम् ॥ ५ ॥

kalau buddhavihīne'smin lokānām hitamācaret /

pāpotpātapraśamanīm namo mantrānusārīṇīm // 5 //

(In the age of *Kali*, in the absence of the Buddha, we act for the benefit of the world; the subduer of all the havoc caused by non-virtues, salutations to that Mantrānusariṇī.)

श्रीमहामन्त्रानुसारिणीस्तोत्रं समाप्तम्।

śrīmahāmantrānusārīṇīstotram samāptam /

(This is the end of the hymn of Mahā-mantrānusariṇī.)

३ महामायूरीस्तोत्रम्

3 mahāmāyūrīstotram

(The Hymn of Mahāmāyūrī)

ॐ नमः श्रीमहामायूर्यै

om namah śrīmahāmāyūryai

(OM Salutations to Śrī-mahāmāyūryaī)

दुष्टं कृष्णभुजङ्गं च नरः स्वान्तिकं पालयेत्।

यस्या मन्त्रानुभावेन मायूरीं प्रणमामि ताम् ॥ १ ॥

dushtam krshnabhujangam ca narah svāntikam pālayet /

yasyā mantrānubhāvena māyūrīm praṇamāmi tām // 1 //

(Through the efficacy of that mantra, the wicked black serpent can be tamed by men
and be protected, prostrations to that Māyūrī.)

ब्रह्मादयो लोकपाला यद्धारण्या समाप्नुवन्।

स्वानि स्वान्यधिकाराणि मायूरीं प्रणमामि ताम् ॥ २ ॥

brahmādayo lokapālā yaddhāranyā samāpnuvan /

svāni svānyadhikārāṇi māyūrīm praṇamāmi tām // 2 //

(By employment of that Dhāraṇī, the Brahma and the realm-protectors are endowed
with their own attainments, prostrations to that Māyūrī.)

स्वर्णवभासं शिखिनं नालभज्जपिनं कुधीः।

अमोघेनापि पाशेन मायूरीं प्रणमामि ताम् ॥ ३ ॥

svarnāvabhāsam śikḥinam nālabhajjapinam kudhīḥ /

amoghenāpi pāsena māyūrīm praṇamāmi tām // 3 //

(The wicked could not have access to the reciter [as he is protected] by the infallible hook of golden light, prostration to that Māyūrī.)

यन्मन्त्रजपतो जीवाः प्राजीवञ्छुष्कपादपाः।

मृतसंजीविनीं देवीं मायूरीं प्रणमामि ताम् ॥ ४ ॥

yanmantrajapato jīvāḥ prājīvañchushkapādapāḥ /

mrtasamjīvinīm devīm māyūrīm praṇamāmi tām // 4 //

(Through recitation of that mantra, the sentient beings and dry plants got became alive, the goddess who bestows the elixir of deathlessness, prostrations to that Maha-māyūrī.)

यन्मन्त्रिसङ्गात् पवनो महोपद्रवशान्तिकृत्।

बुद्धानां बोधिदां नित्यं मायूरीं प्रणमामि ताम् ॥ ५ ॥

yanmantrisangāt pavano mahopadravaśāntikṛt /

buddhānām bodhidām nityam māyūrīm praṇamāmi tām // 5 /

(The big havoc causing winds, when contacted with that mantra, got satiated, the ever granter of enlightenment to the Buddhas, prostrations to that Māyūrī.)

श्रीमहामायूरीरक्षादेवीस्तोत्रं समाप्तम्।

śrīmahāmāyūrīrakshādevīstotram samāptam /

(Here ends the hymn of Śrī-mahāmāyūrī protector goddess.)

४ महाशीतवतीरक्षादेवीस्तोत्रम्

4 mahāśītavatīrakshādevīstotram

(Hymn of Maha-śītavatī)

ॐ नमो महाशीतवत्यै

om namo mahāśītavatyai

(OM Salutations to Maha-śītavatī)

यद्भारणीमनुजपन् राहुलो भद्रमाप्तवान्।

विहेठितो ग्रहैः सर्वैः शीतवतीं नमाम्यहम् ॥ १ ॥

yadDhāraṇīmanujapan rāhulo bhadramāptavān /

vihethito grahaih sarvaih śītavatīm namāmyaham // 1 //

(Through the recitations of that Dhāraṇī, the Rahula was able to attain honourableness,

the demolisher of all the malicious planets, my prostrations to that Śītavatī.)

पापतापे शीतकरीं शीतलाद्युपसर्गतः।

शीतोष्णदुःखशमनीं शीतवतीं नमाम्यहम् ॥ २ ॥

pāpatāpe śītakarīm śītalādyupasargatah /

śītoṣṇaduhkhaśamanīm śītavatīm namāmyaham // 2 //

(The pacifier of the heat of non-virtues and the disease of chickenpox; the annihilator of the sufferings from summers and winters, my prostrations to that Śītavatī.)

मन्त्रग्रन्थितसूत्राणां धारणाल्लक्षयोजनम्।

पथिकानां पालयित्रीं शीतवतीं नमाम्यहम् ॥ ३ ॥

mantragranthitasūtrāṇām dhāraṇāllakshayojanam /

pathikānām pālayitrīm śītavatīm namāmyaham // 3 //

(The mantra knotted in a thread when employed [in amulets] by the travellers, she protects the travellers for millions of miles, my salutations to Śītavatī.)

श्मशानस्थेन मुनिना या समुच्चारिता पुरा।

ग्रहोपद्रवशान्त्यर्थं शीतवतीं नमाम्यहम् ॥ ४ ॥

śmaśānasthena muninā yā samuccāritā purā /

grahopadravaśāntyartham śītavatīm namāmyaham // 4 //

(In the past, the subduers (*Muni*) residing in the charnel ground recited her [mantra] for the pacification of havoc created by the *Graha* (evil spirits), my salutations to that Śītavatī.)

ग्रहाभिभूतवातानां ग्रन्थिपदविधारिणाम्।

ग्रहभीतिप्रशमनीं शीतवतीं नमाम्यहम्॥ ५॥

grahābhībhūtavātānām granthipadavidhārinām /

grahabhītipraśamanīm śītavatīm namāmyaham // 5 //

(Those who are possessed by the *Graha* (evil spirits), [they should] hold the stanza [of her mantra] in the amulets, the subjugator of fears of *Garha*, my salutations to that Śītavatī.)

श्री महाशीतवतीरक्षादेवीस्तोत्रं समाप्तम्।

śrī mahāśītavatīrakshādevīstotram samāptam /

(Here ends the hymn of Śrī-mahā-śītavatī protector goddess.)

५ महासाहस्रप्रमर्दिनीस्तोत्रम्

5 mahāsāhasrapramardinīstotram

(Hymn of Mahāsāhasrapramardinī)

ॐ नमः श्रीमहासाहस्रप्रमर्दिन्ये

om namah śrīmahāsāhasrapramardinye

(OM salutations to Śri-mahāsāhasrapramardinī.)

महासाहस्रिके लोके साहस्रहितकारिणाम्।

सहस्रसत्त्वजननीं नौमि साहस्रमर्दिनीम्॥ १॥

mahāsāhasrike loka sāhasrahitakārinām |

sahasrasattvajananīm naumi sāhasramardinīm || 1 ||

(In the great thousand world realms, she bestows the thousands of fortunes, prostrations to the Sāhasramardinī, the mother of thousands of sentient beings.)

सोपद्रवायां वैशाल्यां महोत्सवो यतः सदा।

महोपसर्गशमनीं नौमि साहस्रमर्दिनीम्॥ २॥

sopadravāyām vaiśālyām mahotsavo yatah sadā /

mahopasargaśamanīm naumi sāhasramardinīm || 2 ||

(She vanquished the disturbances in the festival of Vaiśālī forever, the pacifier of chronic disease, salutations to that Sāhasramardinī.)

यक्षराक्षसभूतानां दमनीं दुष्टचेतसाम्।

दुरितोपद्रवहतां नौमि साहस्रमर्दिनीम् ॥ ३ ॥

Yakṣharākṣhasabhūtānām damanīm dushtacetasām /

duritopadravahatām naumi sāhasramardinīm // 3 //

(Prostrations to the Sāhasramardinī, who subjugates all wicked minded demigods, demons, ghost and dispels all the troubles.)

यद्धारणीपठनतो रक्षितः शाक्यकेशरी।

विषतो विषदिग्धां तां नौमि साहस्रमर्दिनीम् ॥ ४ ॥

yadDhāraṇīpathanato rakshitah śākyakeśarī /

vishato vishadigdhām tām naumi sāhasramardinīm // 4 //

(By recitation of that dhāraṇī, the lion amongst the Śākyas was protected from the poisons and the damages caused by poisons, salutations to that Sāhasramardinī.)

मधुमिश्रितभैषज्यं सर्वरोगनिवारणम्।

मृतसञ्जीवनं लोके नौमि साहस्रमर्दिनीम् ॥ ५ ॥

madhumīśritabhaishajyam sarvaroganivāranam /

mrtasañjīvanam loke naumi sāhasramardinīm // 5 //

(The medicines mixed with honey that removes all the disease, the elixir of this realm,
prostrations to that Sāhasramardinī.)

श्रीमहासाहस्रमर्दिनीरक्षादेवीस्तोत्रं समाप्तम्।

śrīmahāsāhasramardinīrakshādevīstotram samāptam /

(Here ends the hymns of protection goddess Śri-mahā-sāhasrapramardinī.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SANSKRIT AND TIBETAN TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Abhidharmakośa. Dev, Narendra, Vol. I. Allahabad: Hindustan Academy, 1973.

Abhisamayalamkara with Vrtti and Aloka. Maitreya. Translated by Gareth Sparham. California: Jain Publishing House, 2015.

Advayavajrasaṅgraha. Shastri, Harprasad, ed. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1927.

Āryamanjuśrīmūlakalpa. Shashtri, M. M. T. Ganapati, ed. Vol. I. III vols. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publishers, 1920.

Āṭānāṭiya Sutta. Thera, Piyadassi, ed. 1999.

<http://www.accesstoinight.org/tipitaka/dn/dn.32.0.piya.html> (accessed July 20, 2017).

Atharva-veda. Sarasvati, Satya Prakash, ed. Translated by Satya Prakash Sarasvati. New Delhi: Veda Pratishthana, 1992.

Bauddha Tantra Kośha. Vol. I. Dwivedi, Varajavallabha, and Thinlay Ram Shashani, ed. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1990.

Bauddha-stotra-saṅgraha. Pandey, Janardann Shastri, ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1994.

- Cakrasamvara-tantra*. Grey, David, ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Chos- 'byung-zis-bris-nor-bu*. (Indian Buddhist Pundits). Lobsang Norbu Tsonawa, trans. Dharamshala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2005.
- Dammūka-sūtra*. Tripathi, Ram Shankar, ed. Translated by Penpa Dorjee. Leh, Ladakh: Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1987.
- Dharmakoṣa-saṅgraha*. Amritānanda, Pandit. Translated by S C Mukherji. Kolkata: Punthi Pustak, 2014.
- Dīgha Nikāya*. Walshe, Maurice, trans. Boston: Wisdom Publication, 1995.
- Divyāvadāna*. Neil, Edward Byles Cowell and Robert Alexander, ed. London: Oriental Press, 1886.
- Dwivedi and Thinlay Ram Shashni, ed. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1990.
- Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*. Vaidya, P. L., ed. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute, 1960.
- Guhyasamāja-tantra or Tathāgataguhyaka*. Bagchi, S, ed. Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1965.
- Guhyasamāja-tantra*. Nyaupane, Kashinath, ed. Varanasi: Indica Books, 2012.
- Guhyasamāja-tantra-pradīpodyōtanaṭīkā-ṣaṭakoṭī-vyākhyā*. Chakravarti, Chintaharan, ed. Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1984.

Hevajra-tantram with Mukṭāvalī-panjikā of Mahāpanḍitācārya Ratnākaraśhantī.

Tripathi, Ram Shankar, and Thakur, Sain Negi, ed. Sarnath, Varanasi:
Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 2001.

Hevajra-tantram. Nyaupane, Kashinath, ed. Varanasi: Indica Books, 2012.

Jaina-Rupa-Mandana. Shah, Umakant P., ed. Vol. 1. New Delhi: Abhinav
Publications, 1987.

Kurūkullākālpaḥ. Pandey, Janardan Shashtri, ed. Sarnath: Central Institute of
Higher Tibetan Studies, 2001.

Lalitavistar. Shastri, Shantibhikshu, trans. Lucknow: Uttar Pradesh Hindi
Sansthan, 1992.

Madhyamakāvatāra-kārikā Chapter 6. Xuezhong, L., ed. *Journal of Indian
Philosophy* (Springer) 43, no. 1 (2015): 1-30.

*Mahā-pratisarā-mahā-vidyā-dhāraṇī, Introduction, Critical Editions and
Translation.* Hidas, Gergely, ed. Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2011.

Mahāvāstu. Jones, J. J., Vol. I. London: Luzac & Company, 1949.

Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṅgrah. Vaidya, P L, ed. Vol. I. II vols. Darbhanga: The
Mithila Institute, 1961.

Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṅgrah. Vaidya, P L, ed. Vol. II. II vols. Darbhanga: The
Mithila Institute, 1964.

Mūlamādhyamakakārikā. Nagarjuna. Translated by Mark Siderits and Soryu
Katsura. Boston: Wisdom Publication, 2003.

- Nepāl-mahātmya of Skandapurāṇa*. Acharya, J., ed.. New Delhi: Nirala, 1992.
- Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Sharma, Nirmala; Chandra Lokesh, ed. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2015.
- Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpanḍita Abhyākaragupta*. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, ed. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1972.
- Pañcarakṣa-kathā-sāra*. Vajracharya, Divya, ed. Translated by Todd T Lewis. Kathmandu, Nepal: Jana Kalyana Press, 1980.
- Pañcarakṣā-sūtra*. Shakya, Min Bahadur, ed. Kathmandu: Nepal Bauddha Grantha Anuvad Samiti, 2004.
- Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago AD 671–695*. I-tsing. Translated by J. Takakusu. 1896 and New Delhi: Munshiram reprint. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966.
- Rgud sde spyhi rnam par gzag pa rgyas par brjod (Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric System)*. Lessing, F, D, and Alex Wayman, ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978.
- Sādhnamāla*. Vol. I. II vols. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, ed. Baroda: Central Library Baroda, 1925.
- Sādhnamāla*. Vol. II. II vols. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, ed. Baroda: Oriental Institute Baroda, 1968.
- Sankshipt Bhavishyapuraṇa* Anon., ed. Gorakhpur: Gita Press, 1992.

Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna. Mukhopadhyaya, Sujitkumar, ed. Santiniketan, Bi:

Vushvabharti, Santiniketan, 1954.

Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha. Chandra, Lokesh, ed. Delhi: Motilal

Banarsidass, 1987.

Saundaryalahrī or Flood of Beauty. Brown, W Norman, ed. Cambridge, Mass.:

Harvard University Press, 1958.

Śrī Nārada Pāñcarātram. Basu, B. D., ed. Translated by Swami Vijyanand. New

Delhi: Cosmo Publication, 2008.

Śrī-tantrāloka. Mishra, Paramahansa, ed. Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit

University, 1999.

Śrī-vajrayoginī-stuti-praṇidhānam. Rinpoche, S, and S Bahulkar, *Dhīh* 17

(1994): 1-2.

Suramgasamādhi-sūtra. Lamotte, Etienne. Translated by S Webb-Boin.

Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003.

Tattvasaṅgraha-ṭīka. Vol. I, in *Baudha Tantra Kosh*, Dwivedi, Vrajavallabha,

ed.

Taittiriya-Upanishad Translated by Sarvananda, Swami.. Madras: Ramkrishna

Mission Math, 1921.

The Tibetan Tripiṭaka (Peking Edition). Suzuki, D T, ed. Vol. 168. 168 vols.

Tokyo-Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1961.

Vajrayoginī Sādhnā and Commentary. Dhargyey, Geshe Ngawang. Translated by Alan Wallace. New Delhi: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2006.

Vimalaprabhā-ṭīkā on Śrī-laghu-kālacakra-tantra-rāja. Upadhyaya, Jagannath, ed. Vol. I. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1986.

Viśeṣastava. Negi, Vidyasagar, trans. Sarnath: Sepma Dorje, 1985.

HINDI, NEWARI, AND NEPALI TEXTS

Apte, Prabhakar P. “Pouskar saṅhitā-mandālakritī Parichaya.” Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Insitute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1995.

Bajracharya, Badriratana. *Nyādhā Bauddha Pūjā Vidhī* . Kathmandu: Ashtaman Maharjan, 1993.

Bajracharya, Yagyamanpati. *Vajrayāna Paramparā mā Yoginī ko Bhūmikā*. Translated by Guhyeshvariraj Manandhar. Kathmandu: Viranchi Moti Smriti Guhya Tara Kosh, 2009.

Bharti, Dharamvir. *Siddha Sāhitya* . Prayag (Allahabad): Kitab Mahal, 1955.

Bhattacharya, Benoytosh. “Bauddha Sādhna.” In *Kalyān Sāadhanā Ank*, edited by Hanuman Prasad Poddar. Gorakhpur: Gita Press, 1940.

- Dwivedi, Hajari Prasad. *Madhyakālīn Dharm Sādhnā*. Allahabad: Sahitya Bhawan, 1970.
- _____. *Hindī Sāhitya Kī Bhūmaikā*. Bombay: Nathuram Premi, Hindi-Granth-Ratnakar Karyalaya, 1948.
- Dwivedi, Vrajavallabha, Janardan Pandey, and S, S Bahulkar, . *Bhāratiya Tantrasāstra*. Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1995.
- Joshi, Munishchandra. “Eitihāsik Sandarbh Mein Śakta Tantra.” Edited by Krishnadutt Paliwal. *Hirānand Śashtri Smārak Vyākhyana Mālā*. Delhi: Sasta Sahitya Mandal, 2011. 29-86.
- He-ru-ka, gTsan-sMyon. *The Biography of The Great Yogi Milarepa*. Translated in Hindi by Ramesh Chandra Negi. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 2003.
- Kaviraj, Gopinath. “"Bhumika"." In *Bauddha Dharma Darśan*, by Acharya Narendra Dev, 11-48. Patna: Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, 1956.
- Lall, Banarasi. “Bauddha Tantra Sāhitya kā Vargikaraṇ.” *Dhīh: A Review of Rare Buddhist Texts* (Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies) Sarnath (1988): 63-82.
- _____. “Kālacakra Mandala Evam Mandalath Dev-Parikar.” *Dhīh journal of Rare Buddhist Text* 22 (1996): 23-38.

- Mahanti, Rajendra Kumar. *Tantra Śiromaṇi Śrī Jagannath*. Translated by Srinivas Udgata (Hindi translation from Orria). Bhubaneswar: Mahabir Prakadshan, 2010.
- Mishra, Vidyanibas. "Coomaraswāmy kā Bhārat Cintan." Edited by Balaram Srivastava. *Historiography of Indian art*. Varanasi: Pratibha Prakashan, 2006. 22-32.
- Negi, Thakur Sain. "Vajrayāna ke Tantra Nikāyon kā Sankṣipta Varṇaṇ." *Dhīh: A Review of Rare Buddhist Texts* Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies Sarnath (Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies) XX (1995): 72-86.
- Negi, Wangchuk Dorje. "Tantra kā Swarūp evam Abhyāntara Bheda." *Dhīh: A Review of Rare Buddhist Texts* (Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies) 11 (1991): 147-57.
- Pandey, Janardan, and Thinleyram Shashani. "Sādhana-mālā ke Cār Paṇiṣṭ." *Dhīh: A Review of Rare Buddhist Texts*, (Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies) V (1988): 81-130.
- Sankrityayan, Rahul. *Dohā-kośa*. Patna: Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, 1957.
- *Purātattva Nibandhāvalī*. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1958.
- *Buddha Caryā*. Sarnath, Banaras: Mahabodhi Sabha, 1952.
- Upadhyaya, Baldev. *Bauddha Darśana Mimāṃsā*. Varanasi: Chukhambha Vidya Bhavan, 1999.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Allione, Tsultrim. *Women of Wisdom*. New York: Snow Lion, 2000.

App, Urs. *The Birth of Orientalism*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania, 2010.

Apte, Vaman Shivram. *The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. 2nd. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970.

Bagchi, P C. "Evolution of the Tantras." In *Studies on the Tantras*, 8-25. Kolkata: The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 1989.

Bajracharya, Ranjana. *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshwara and his Symbolic Mantra*. Kathmandu: Bhakta Nanda Bajracharya, 2003.

Bajracharya, Yagnaman Pati. "Charya Geet." Kathmandu: Lotus Research Center, 1998. http://lrcnepal.org.np/article-Report_And_Proceeding (accessed March 1, 2014).

Bangdel, Dina. "Art In the Ritual Context The Chakrasamvara-tantra." *Orientalism* 34, no. 8 (2003).

Bapat, P V. *2500 Years of Buddhism*. New Delhi: The Publication Division of India, 1959.

Beer, Robert. *Encyclopedia of Tibetan Symbols and Motifs*. Boston: Shambhala, 1999.

- Behrendt, Kurt. "Tibet and India Buddhist Traditions and Transformations." 2014.
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications/tibet_and_india_buddhist_traditions_and_transformations# (accessed March 1, 2018).
- Benard, Elisabeth Anne. *Chhinnamastā: The Aweful Buddhist and Hindu Tantric Goddess*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2010.
- Bentor, Yael. "Inside Tibetan Images." *Art of Asia*, May-June 1994.
- Berger, Petrica. *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003.
- Beyer, Stephan. *Magic and Ritual in Tibet: The Cult of Tara*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988.
- Bhattacharya, Benoytosh. "Buddhist Deities in Hindu Garb." *Proceedings and Transactions of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference Lahore*, Lahore: University of Panjab, 1930. 1277-1298.
- *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*. Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1958.
- *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980.
- Bhattacharyya, D C. *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1978.
- Bhattacharyya, Haridas. *The Cultural Heritage of India: The Religions*. Calcutta: Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 1956.

- Bhattacharyya, N N. "Chinese Origin of the Cult of Tara." In *The Shakti Cult and Tara*, edited by D. C. Sarkar, 143-146. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1960.
- *History of Researches on Indian Buddhism*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1981.
- *History of the Tantric Religion: A Historical, Ritualistic, and Philosophical Study*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1982.
- Bjerken, Zeff. "On Mandalas, Monarchs, and Mortuary Magic: Siting the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 73 (2005): 813-41.
- Bosch, F. D. K. "Vajradhatu Mandala." In *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, 109-133. The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961.
- Braarvig, Jens, and Fredrik Liland. *The Ancient Manuscripts Of Gandharan Buddhism: An Exhibition of Ancient Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*. eBook, Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2010.
- Broido, Michael M. "Killing, Lying, Stealing, and Adultery: A problem of Interpretation in the Tantras." In *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, edited by Donald S. Lopez Jr, 71-118. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes. "Indology and Rationality." In *Indology: Past Present and Future*, by Indology and Rationality, 142-173. Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2002.

- Brown, George W. "Prana and Apana." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 39 (1919): 104-112.
- Brown, Simmer J. *Dakini's Warm Breath: The Feminine Principle in Tibetan Buddhism*. Boston: Shambhala, 2001.
- Burnouf, Eugène. *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism* 2010. Translated by Katia Buffetrille and Lopez Donald S. Jr. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Buswell, Robert E. *Encyclopedia of Buddhism Volumes 1 & 2*. New York: Thomson Gale, 2004.
- Cabezón, Jose Ignacio. *Buddhism, Sexuality, and Gender*. New York: SUNY, 1991.
- Caldwell, Sarah. *Oh Terrifying Mother: Sexuality, Violence, and the Worship of The Goddess Kali*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Campbell, John R. B. "Vajra Hermeneutics: A Study of Vajrayana Scholasticism in the Pradlpoddyotana." Columbia University, 2009.
- Campbell, June. *Traveller in Space: In Search of Female Identity in Tibetan Buddhism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003.
- Capra, Fritjof. *The Tao of Physics*. London: Flamingo, 1991.
- Chanda, Ramprasad. "Four Ancient Yaksha Statues." *Journal of the Department of Letters* (University of Calcutta), 1921: 42-84.

— “South Asia Archive.”

<http://www.southasiaarchive.com/Content/sarf.120022/205315/003>

(accessed January 10, 2017).

Chandra, Lokesh. “Chandi Mendut and Pawon: A New Interpretation.”

Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde 136 (1980): 313-20.

Chaturvedi, B K, ed. *Kautilya's Arthśāstra*. New Delhi: Diamond Pocket Books, 2001.

Child, Louise. *Tantric Buddhism and the Altered State of Consciousness*.

Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007.

Chogyen, Pema Losang. “Exploring the Mandala.” *Grand Street* (Jean Stein) 63 (1998): 58-61.

Coleman, James William. *The New Buddhism: The Western Transformation of an Ancient Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Conze, Edward. *Short History of Buddhism*. London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1982.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1972.

— *Introduction to Indian Art*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1969.

— *The Dance of Shiva*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1999.

— *The True Scholar: Passages from A.K. Coomaraswamy on Art and Scholarship*. Edited by Roger Lipsey. Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2013.

- Cranmer, Marit, ed. *Tibetan Literary Arts*. Massachusetts: Shang Shung Institute & Neilson Library Smith College, 2007.
- Crujisen, Thomas, and Arlo, Klokke Marijke J Griffiths. "The Cult of the Buddhist dhāraṇī Deity Mahāpratisarā Along the Maritime Silk Route: New Epigraphical and Iconographic Evidence from the Indonesian Archipelago." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 2012 (2013): 71-158.
- Dasgupta, S B. *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1958.
- *Obscure Religious Cults*. Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1969.
- David, T W Rhys. *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*. Vol. 4. London, 1921.
- Davidson, Ronald M. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Devi, Pria, and Palat Madhavan, *Kham: Space and the Act of Space*. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre For Arts, 1986.
- Djurdjevic, Gordan. *India and the Occult: The Influence of South Asian Spirituality on Modern Western Occultism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Dowman, Keith. "A Buddhist Guide to the Power Places of the Kathmandu Valley." *Kailash*, 1995: 183-291.
- *Power-places of Central Tibet*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988.

- Edmunds, Albert Joseph. *Buddhist And Christian Gospels Now First Compared From The Originals: Being Gospel Parallels From Pāli Texts*. Philadelphia: Innes & Sons, 1908.
- English, Elizabeth. *Vajrayogini: Her Visualizations, Rituals, & Forms*. Boston: Wisdom, 2002.
- Erberto, F. *Art in Tibet: Issues in Traditional Tibetan Art from the Seventh to the Twentieth Century*. Leiden: Lo Bue, 2011.
- Felicia, C. "Politics into Aesthetics: Cultural Translation in Kundun, Seven Years in Tibet, and The Cup." In *Buddhism and American Cinema*, edited by John Whalen-Bridge and Gary Storhof. New York: State University of New York, 2014.
- Female Deities*. 2008. http://www.khandro.net/deities_female.htm (accessed April 04, 2018).
- Fergusson, James. *Archaeology in India with Empirical Reference to the Works of Babu Rajendralal Mitra*. London: Tubner & Co., 1884.
- Gellner, David N. *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press India Pvt. Ltd., 1993.
- "Himalayan Conundrum? A Puzzling Absence in Ronald M. Davidson's Indian Esoteric Buddhism." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 27, no. 2 (2004): 411-417.

- Gifford, Julie A. *Buddhist Practice and Visual Culture*. 1st. Oxon: Routledge, 2011.
- Gimian, Carolyn Rose, ed. *The Collected Works of Chogyam Trungpa*. 3 vols. Boston & London: Shambhala, 2003.
- “Goddesses.” *English Tibetan Dictionary Online*. 29 August 2013. <http://english-tibetan-dictionary.tumblr.com/post/59659790433/goddesses> (accessed March 2, 2017).
- Granoff, Phyllis. “Maheśvara/Mahākāla: A Unique Buddhist Image from Kaśmīr.” *Artibus Asiae* (Artibus Asiae) 41, no. 1 (1979): 64-82.
- Gross, Rita M. *Buddhism after Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1993.
- _____. “Is the Goddess a Feminist?” In *Is the Goddess a Feminist? The Politics of South Asian Goddesses*, edited by Alf Hiltebeitel and Kathleen M. Erndl. New York: NYUP, 2000.
- Guenther, Herbert. *The Life & Teachings of Naropa*. Boston, MA: Shambhala, 1963.
- Gyatso, Geshe Kelsang. *Guide to Dakini Land*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2000.
- Gyatso, Janet. *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary*. NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998.

- Gyatso, Tenzin, The Fourteenth Dalai Lama. *Mind Science: An East-West Dialogue*. Edited by D. Goleman and Thurman R. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1991.
- Harper, Katherine Anne, and Robert L. Brown, . *The Roots of Tantra*. New York: SUNY, 2002.
- Hodgson, B H. *Essays on the Languages, Literature, And Religion of Nepal And Tibet: Together with further papers on the Geography, Ethnology, And Commerce of Those Countries*. London: Trubner & Co., 1874.
- Hopkins, Jeffrey. *Tantric techniques*. Edited by Kevin Vose. New York: Snow Lion, 2008.
- _____. *Tantric Techniques*. Edited by Kevin Vose. New York: Snow Lion, 2008.
- _____. *The Kalachakra Tantra: Rite of Initiation for the Stage of Generation*. London: Wisdom Publications, 1985.
- Huntington, John C. "The Iconography of Borobudur Revisited." In *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture*, edited by Pauline C. M. Lunsingh Scheurleer Marijke J. Klokke, 133-148. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994.
- Jackson, Roger R. "A Tantric Eco in Sinhalese Theravada? Pirit ritual, the book of Paritta and the Janapanjararaya." *Dhīh: A Review of Rare Buddhist Texts* (Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies) XVIII (1994): 121-140.

- Jansen, Eva Rudy. *The Book of The Buddhas: Rituals Symbolism Used on Buddhist Statuary and Ritual Objects*. New Delhi: New age Books, 2002.
- Jee, Swami Lakshman. *Kashmir Shaivism: The Secret Supreme*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publication, 1991.
- Kalsang, Ladrang. *The Guardian Deities of Tibet*. New Delhi: Winsome Books India, 1996.
- Kane, P V. *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Vol. V (ii). Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1941.
- Kartapranata, Gunawan. "Borobudur-Northwest-view." Wikimedia Commons, 12 June 2008.
- Kerin, Melissa R. *Art and Devotion at a Buddhist Temple in the Indian Himalaya*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015.
- Khajuria, Y P, and N K Gurtoo, . *Encyclopeadia of Kashmira Shaivism*. Vol. 2. Jammu: Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, 2005.
- Kinsley, David. *Tantric Visions of the Divine Feminine: The Ten Mahavidyas*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1998.
- Kirpal, Jeffrey J. *Kali's Child*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998.
- Klimburg-Salter, Deborah E. *Tabo Monastery Art and History*. Vienna: Austrian Science Foundation, 2005.
- Krishnan, Gauri Parimoo, ed. *Nalanda, Srivijaya and Beyond: Re-exploring Buddhist Art in Asia*. Singapore: Asian Civilisation Museum, 2016.

- Kumar, Pratap P. *The Goddess Lakṣmī: The Divine Consort in South Indian Vaiṣṇava Tradition*. Georgia: Scholars Press, 1997.
- Kushog, Jetsun Sakya. “Female Deities-Vajrayogini”, Interview on www.khandro.net, http://www.khandro.net/deities_female.htm (Accessed Mar. 1 2018).
- Lama, Dalai, Lhundrub, Khonton P, and Jose I Cabezon. *Meditation on the Nature of Mind*. Somerville MA: Wisdom Publication, 2011.
- LeVine, Sarah, and David N Gellner. *Rebuilding Buddhism: The Theravada Movement in Twentieth-Century Nepal*. Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Lewis, Todd T. *Popular Buddhist Texts from Nepal, Narratives and Rituals of Newar Buddhism*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2000.
- _____. “The Power of Mantra: A Story of the Five Protectors. , pp..” In *Religions of India In Practice*, edited by Donald S Jr Lopez, 227-234. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Linrothe, Rob. *Ruthless Compassion Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art*. Boston: Shambhala, 1999.
- Lopez, Donald S Jr. *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism Under Colonialism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- _____. *From Stone to Flesh: A Short History of the Buddha*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013.

- Lorenzen, David N. *Who Invented Hinduism*. Edited by Pranabananda Jash. New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2006.
- Luczanits, C. “Earliest Mandalas in a Buddhist Context.” Delhi: Tibet House, 2008.
- Maas, Philipp A. “Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma and the Yoga of Patañjali.” <https://www.academia.edu/>. 25 11 2017. <https://tinyurl.com/jgdkxyz>.
- Majupurias. *Gods, Goddesses & Religious Symbols of Hinduism, Buddhism & Tantrism*. Gwalior: M. Devi, 2005.
- Malandra, Geri Hockfield. “The “Archaeology” of a Maṇḍala.” *Ars Orientalis* 15 (1985): 67-94.
- Mass, Philipp A. *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma and the Yoga of Patañjali*. 1 October 2014. https://www.academia.edu/8098284/Sarv%C4%81stiv%C4%81da_Abhidharma_and_the_Yoga_of_Pata%C3%B1jali (accessed April 4, 2018).
- Mevissen, G J R. “A Dated Pañcarakshā toraṇa from the Hratī Temple at Svayambhunāth, Nepal, and Related Matters.” In *Vanamālā*, edited by Festschrift A.J. Gail, 137-159. Berlin: WEIDLER Buchverlag, 2006.
- Misra, Ram Nath. *The Yaksha Cult and Iconography*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1979.
- Mitra, Debala. *Buddhist Monuments*. Calcutta: Sahitya Parishad, 1971.

- Mitra, Rajendralalal. *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882.
- Morgan, David. *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice*. California: University of California Press, 2005.
- Mullin, G H, and Jeff J Watt. *Female Buddhas: Women of Enlightenment in Tibetan Mystical Art*. New Mexico: Clear Light Books, 2003.
- Mullin, Glenn H, ed. *Meditations on The Lower Tantras*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1997.
- Nanjio, Bunyiu. *The Buddhist Tripitaka The Sacred Canon of the Buddhists of China and Japan*. Oxford, London: The Clarendon Press, 1883.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. *The Discovery of India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Orlina, Roderick. “Epigraphical evidence for the cult of Mahāpratisarā in the.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 2012 (2013): 159-170.
- Orzech, Charles D., ed. *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Osho. *Tantra, The Supreme Understanding: Talks on Tilopa's Song of Mahamudra*. Bombay: Rajneesh Foundation, 1975.

- Paul, Diana Y, and Frances Wilson. *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in the Mahayana Tradition*. California: University of California Press, 1985.
- Padoux, Andre. "Mandalas in Abhinavagupta's Tantralok." In *Mandalas and Yantras in the Hindu Traditions*, edited by Gudrun Bühnemann, 225-238. Leiden: Brill's Indological library, 2003.
- Petech, L. *1984 Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750-1482) by Petech s. 2nd*. Roma: IsMEO (Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East), 1984.
- Phuoc, Le Huu. *Buddhist Architecture*. Grafikol, 2012.
- Poceski, Mario. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to East and Inner Asian Buddhism*. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2014.
- Pradhan, Mansingh Mahendra. *Panch Buddha and Dance*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 1996.
- Regmi, Jagadish Chandra. *A Glossary of Himalayan Buddhism*. Delhi: Nirala, 1994.
- Rhie, Marylin M, and Robert Thurman. *Wisdom and Compassion: The Sacred Art of Tibet*. London: London Royal Academy of Arts, 1992.
- Rhie, Marylin, and Robert Thurman. *A Shrine for Tibet: The Alice S. Kandell Collection of Tibetan Sacred Art*. New York: Tibet House, 2010.
- Rinpoche, Boker. *Tara The Feminine Divine*. San Francisco: Clear Point Press, 1999.

Rinpoche, Dzongsar Jamyang Khyentse. *Vajrayana Buddhism in the West: The Challenges and Misunderstandings of Our Times*. 28 Feb 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wrsFqGI5o0I> (accessed April 20, 2018).

Rinpoche, Kyabje Pabongka, ed. *A Long Sadhana of Vajrayogini According to the Pure and Unbroken Lineage Tradition of the Indian Mahasiddha Naropa (1016-1100 C.E.)*. Gaden of the West, 2004.

Roerich, George M. *The Blue Annals*. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society, 1949.

Ruegg, David Seyfort. "A Note on the Relationship between Buddhist and 'Hindu' Divinities in Buddhist Literature and Iconology: The Laukika/Lokkotara Contrast and the Notion of an Indian 'Religious Substratum.'" In *Le parole e i Marmi: Studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli*, edited by R Torella, 735-742. Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2001.

— *The Symbiosis of Buddhism with Brahmanism/Hinduism in South Asia And of Buddhism with 'local cults' in Tibet and the Himalayan region*. Wien: Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008.

Ryan, Jerome. "Kathmandu Valley Sankhu Vajrayogini Temple Gilded Torana." *Aconcagua*. 10 October 2010. <http://www.mountainsoftravelphotos.com> (accessed March 01, 2018).

Samdarshi, Pranshu. "Concept of Goddesses in Buddhist Tantra Tradition."

Edited by Harish Trivedi. *The Delhi University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* (University of Delhi) 1, no. 1 (2014): 87-99.

— *Female Buddhas: Feminine Imagery in Buddhist Tantra*. New Delhi: Rachna Publications, 2017.

— "Yoginis as Goddesses." *Frontline* 32, no. 26 (January 2016): 86-87.

Samuel, Geoffrey. *The Origins of Yoga and Tantra: Indic Religions to the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

— *Tantric Revisionings: New Understandings of Tibetan Buddhism and Indian Religion*. London: Ashgate, 2017.

Sanderson, Alexis. "How Buddhist is the Herukābhīdhānatantra?"

www.academia.edu. 6 June 2009.

https://www.academia.edu/6150265/Handout_6_June_2009_Vienna_Institut_f%C3%BCr_S%C3%BCdasien-_Tibet-_und_Buddhismuskunde_Universit%C3%A4t_Wien_How_Buddhist_is_the_Heruk%C4%81bhīdh%C4%81natantra (accessed April 1, 2018).

— "Shaivism and the Tantric Traditions." In *The World's Religions*, edited by Peter Clarke and Friedhelm Hardy. London: Routledge, 1988.

— "Vajrayāna: Origin and Function." *Buddhism Into the Year 2000: International Conference Proceedings*. Bangkok and Los Angeles: Dhammakaya, 1995. 89-102.

Sastri, Hirananda. "Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material."

www.southasiaarchive.com. n.d.

<http://www.southasiaarchive.com/Content/sarf.100116/218388/002>

(accessed January 10, 2017).

Schrempf, Mona. "From "Devil Dance" to "World Healing": Some Representations Perceptions and Innovations of Contemporary Tibetan Ritual Dances ." Edited by Frank J Korom. *Tibetan Culture in The Diaspora*. Wien, 1997. 91-102.

Shakya, Min Bahadur. *The iconography of Nepalese Buddhism*. Kathmandu: Handicraft Association of Nepal, 1994.

Sharma, Dilli Raj. "A Note on Historical and Cultural Significance of Vajrayogini." *CNAS* (Tribhuvan University), 1996: 271-283.

Shastri, Dharmendra Nath. *Critique of Indian Realism: A Study of the Conflict Between the Nyaya-Vaisheshika & the Buddhist Dignaga School*. Agra: Agra University, 1964.

Shastri, Hiranand. *Memoirs Of The Archaeological Survey Of India No. 66 Nalanda And Its Epigraphic Material*. Delhi: Archaeological Survey Of India, 1941.

Shaw, Miranda. *Buddhist Goddesses of India*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006.

- _____. *Passionate Enlightenment: Women in Tantric Buddhism*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2008.
- _____. “Magical Lovers, Sisters, and Mothers.” In *Breaking Boundaries With the Goddesses*, edited by Cynthia Ann Humes and Rachel Fell McDermott, 265-296. Delhi: Manohar, 2009.
- Shinohara, Koichi. *Spells, Images, and Mandalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- Shukla, Karunesh. *Gleanings from the Buddhist Heritage*. New Delhi: Readworthy Publications, 2013.
- Singe, Jamyang. *Gega Lama-Principles of Tibetan art Illustrations and Explanations of Buddhist Iconography and Iconometry According to the Karma Gardri School Volume 1 & 2*. Darjeeling, 1983.
- Singh, Upinder. *Idea Of Ancient India: Essays On Religion, Politics, and Archaeology*. Delhi: Sage Publishing, 2016.
- Snellgrove, D. L., and Skorupski, T, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*. Wiltshire: Aris & Phillips, 1980.
- Snellgrove, David. *Himalayan Pilgrimage A Study of Tibetan Religion*. Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1961.
- _____. *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*. Boston: Shambhala, 2002.
- _____. “Stūpa or Maṇḍala?” *East and West* 46 (1996): 477-83.

- Snodgrass, Adrian. *The Symbolism of The Stupa*. 1. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992.
- Sonam, Sonam Rinchen and Ruth. *The Heart Sutra: An Oral Teaching*. New York: Snow Lion, 2003.
- Sutherland, Gail Hinich. *Yaksha in Buddhism and Hinduism*. Delhi: Manohar, 1992.
- Thomas Cruijssen, Arlo Griffiths, Marijke J. Klokke. “The Cult of the Buddhist dhāraṇī Deity Mahāpratisarā Along the Maritime Silk Route: New Epigraphical and Iconographic Evidence from the Indonesian Archipelago.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 2012 (2013): 71-158.
- Tingley, Nancy. *Celestial Realms: The Art of Nepal*. California: Crocker Art Museum, 2012.
- Torella, Raffaele. “Importance of Utpaladeva: An Introduction.” In *Utpaladeva, Philosopher of Recognition*, edited by Raffaele Torella and Bettina Bäumer, 1-13. Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2016.
- Tribe, Anthony, ed. *Tantric Buddhist Practice in India: Vilāsavarja's commentary on the Manjuśrī-nāmasamgīti*. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Trungpa, Chogyam. *The Collected Works of Chogyam Trungpa*. Edited by Carolyn Rose Gimian. Vol. 10. Boston & London: Shambhala, 2017.

- _____. *Transcending Madness: The Experience of the Six Bardos*. Boston: Shambhala, 1992.
- _____. *Visual Dharma The Buddhist Art of Tibet*. Boston: Shambhala, 1975.
- Tsering, Nawang. *Alchi, The Living Heritage of Ladakh*. Leh and Delhi: Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, Aditya Prakashan, 2009.
- Tucci, G. *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala*. London: Rider & Company, 1961.
- Tulku, Sharpa, and Richard Guard, *Self-initiation of Vajrabhairava*. Dharamshala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1991.
- Urban, Hugh B. *The Power of Tantra*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2010.
- Valby, Jim. *THL Tibetan to English Translation Tool*. 2017.
<http://www.thlib.org/reference/dictionaries/tibetan-dictionary/translate.php> (accessed July 21, 2017).
- Vessantara. *A Guide to the Deities of the Tantra*. Cambridge: Windhorse Publications, 1993.
- Giovanni Verardi, 'Issues in the History of Indian Buddhism', Kyoto, 2011,
<https://barc.ryukoku.ac.jp/research/upfile/2013%E5%B9%B4%E5%BA%A6%E5%BC%9AIssues%20in%20the%20History%20of%20Indian%20Buddhism.pdf>, (accessed December 28, 2018).
- Vivekananda, Swami. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*. I - IX vols. Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1907.

- Waddell, Austine L. *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*. London: W. H. Allen & Co. Limited, 1895.
- Wallis, Glenn. *Meditating the Powers of Buddhas*. 1. New York: SUNY, 2002.
- Watt, Jeff. *Pratisara (Buddhist Deity)*. April 2017.
- <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/73293> (accessed March 1, 2018).
- *Buddhist Deity Pancha Raksha*. April 2017.
- <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setid=2034> (accessed March 1, 2018).
- “Mandala of Tara (Buddhist Deity) - (Suryagupta, 17 Deity).” *Himalayan Art Resources*. July 1999. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/779> (accessed March 1, 2018).
- *Vajrayogini (Buddhist Deity) - (Naropa Tradition)*. 20 March 2015.
- <http://www.himalayanart.org/items/99089/images/primary#-1970,-3402,4834,18>.
- Wayman, Alex. “The Intermediate State Dispute in Buddhism.” *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*. Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1974. 227-239.
- *Yoga of The Guhyasamajatantra*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977.
- *The Buddhist Tantras: Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1994.

- ____ “An Historical Review of Buddhist Tantra.” *Dhīh: A Review of Rare Buddhist Texts* (Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies) XX (1995): 137-53.
- Wedemeyer, Christian K. “Locating Tantric Antinomianism - An Essay Toward an Intellectual History of the 'Practices/Practice Observance' (caryā/caryāvrata).” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 34 (2011 (2012)): 349-420.
- ____ *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism: History, Semiology, and Transgression in the Indian Traditions*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
- ____ “Tropes, Typologies, and Turnarounds: A Brief Genealogy of the Historiography of Tantric Buddhism.” *History of Religions* (University of Chicago Press) 40 (2001): 223-259.
- White, David Gordon. *Kiss of the Yogini: Tantric Sex in its South Asian Contexts*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- ____ *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Widdess, Richard. “Caryā and Cacā: Change and Continuity in Newar Buddhist Ritual Song.” *Asian Music* 35, no. 2 (2004): 7-41.
- Willson, Martin. *In Praise of Tara: Songs to the Saviouress*. New York: Wisdom Publications, 1992.

- Woodroffe, John. *The Garland of Letters: Studies in Mantra-Śastra*. Chennai: Ganesh and Co., 2001.
- Wright, Danial. *History of Nepal*. 2007. Delhi: Rupa, 1877.
- Yelle, Robert A. *Explaining Mantras*. New York & London: Routledge, 2003.
- Young, Serinity. *Courtesans and Tantric Consorts: Sexualities in Buddhist Narrative, Iconography, and Ritual*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

INDEX

A

Abhayākaragupta, 145

abhicārika, 1

Abhidharmakoṣa, 25

Abhinavagupta, 43

abhiprāya, 11

Abhisamaya-manjarī, 177, 202

Ādi Buddha, 193

Advayavajrasangraha, 75

Adwaya-tantra, 170

Āgama, 38

Ajanta, 52

Akṣobhya, 149

Albert Joseph Edmunds, 29

Alexander Csoma, 20

Alexander Cunningham, 14

Alexis Sanderson, 38

Amarawati, 103

Amoghasiddhī, **115**

Amōghasiddhi, 147

Amoghavajra, 133

Ānanda, 157

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, 20

Anglo-German school, 12

antinomian, 10

antinomianism, 62

anuttara-jñāna, 11

Anuttara-tantra, 200

Anuttarayoga-tantra, 88, 170

Apabhramsa, 61

Apādāna sutta, 85

Aparājītā, 35

Aparājītā-sādhana, 99

ārādhnāvidhī, 188

ardhpryaṅka āsana, 147

Asanga, 80

Asia, 19

Asiatic Society, 19

Aṣṭamātrika, 190

Aśvaghoṣa, 35

Aṭṭaṇṭiya Sutta, 76

Athaṛva Veda, 72

ātmagrāha, 180

Austine Waddell, 27

avadhūtī, 179

B

Bali, 130

Bamiyan, 42

Baṇabhatta, 139

Barlam, 18

Benoytosh Bhattacharya, 56

Bhagavati, 173

Bhaisajya-vāstu, 130

Bhaktapur, 190

Bharhut, 103, 107

Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, 99

Bhutan, 12

Bhūti, 100

biblical studies, 13

Biblical studies, 6

bīja mantra, 77

Bodhicitta, 44

Bodhisattva, 79

Boudhanath, 160

Brahma, 35

Brain H. Hodgson, 17

bsil ba'i tshal chen mo, 127

bSil ba'i tshal chen mo, 129

Buddha Vacanas, 60

Buddhacarita, 35

Buddhadākinī, 186

Buddhaguhya, 121

Buddhavadāna, 155

Buddhist-renaissance, 87

Burnouf, 38

Butōn, 121

Bya rGyup, 127

C

Cacā-Munā, 169

caitya, 147

Cakrasamvara, 35

Cakrasamvaratantra, 100

canonical literature, 35

Caryā-gīti, 79

caste hierarchy, 62

Catholic, 12

Catur-mahārājika, 157

Ceylon, 28

Chakrasamvara, 183

Changunarayan, 190

Chapagaon, 190

Chhinnamundā, 181

China, 12

Chinese, 29

Chinese Tripitaka. *See*

Chinnamastā, 199

Chinnamundā, 184 190, 199

Chögyam Trungpa, 90

Christian missionaries, 13

Christianity, 13

Chundā illustration, 114

Chusya Baha, 160

Cīna, 59

Citta, 124

clear-light mind, 170, 173

compassion, 115

consort, 176

Coomaraswamy, 51, 65

Csoma De-Coros, 21

Cundā, 110

Cundā-Dhāriṇī, 111

D

D. N. Shastri, 55

Dākinī, 91, 96, 186

Dalai Lama, 10, 86, 90

Daśmāhvidyā, 177

David Seyfort Ruegg, 43

David Suleiman, 32

de La Vallee Poussin, 25

Devatā, 173

Devī, 173

Dharmvir Bharti, 62

dhāraṇī, 77

Dhāriṇīs, 113

dharmacakra mudra, 149

Dharmakāya, 188

Dharmakośa-saṃgraha, 146

Dharmakośasaṃgrah, 152

Dhyāni Buddhas, 174

Dīgh Nikāya, 76

Dīgha Nikāya, 85

Dignaga, 55

Divyāvadāna, 31, 97

Dohā-Kośa, 79

Dorje-Phāgmo, 183

Dravidian language, 77

Drub Tab Gyatso, 129

Dunhuang, 134

Dus-mahāvidyā, 199

E

Edward Conze, 17

Edward Moor, 19

Ekajātā-tārā, 59

Ellora, 52

Ellora Cave no VII, 141

emptiness, 174

Engelbert Kaempfer, 19

epigraphical evidences, 134

Eugene Burnouf, 22

European pedagogy, 55

F

Female Buddhas, 102, 106

feminine-divine, 1

feudal state, 33

four classes of Buddhist tantra, 6

Franco-Belgian school, 12

Franco–Belgian school, 25

Franco–Belgian school, 25

G

Gaja-lakṣmi, 16

Gandhara, 20

gcan rim pa, 129

generation stage, 189

Gilgit Manuscripts, 130

Gñana-devatā, 123

Gñana-samuccaya, 122

Gopinath Kaviraj, 65

Gospels, 29

graha-śānti yajña, 158

Great Game, 20

Greek, 20, 29

Green Tārā illustration, 117

Gṛidhakūṭa hill, 76

gSang sngags rjes dzin chen mo, 129

guhyakas, 186

Guhyasamāja Tantra, 84

Guhyasamāja-tantra, 53, 66, 82

Guhyeśwari, 190

Gurumandala pūjā, 131

H

Halbfass, 48

Haraprasad Shastri, 52

Haraṣadeva, 197

- Hārīti, 108, 161
- Hārītī Yakṣī, 109
- Harivamsa-purāṇa*, 99
- Harprasad Shastri, 57
- Harṣacarita*, 139
- Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, 62
- Heart Sutra, 82
- heritage, 48
- Hermann Hess, 50
- Hermann Oldenburg, 12
- hermeneutics, 39
- Heruka, 35, **176**
- Hevajra Tantra*, 84
- Hevajra-tantra*, 70
- hideousness, 54
- Himalayan Buddhist arts, 1
- Hinayana, 26
- Hindi, 61
- Hindi Sāhitya kā itihās*, 61
- Hindoo nation, 55
- Hindu tantra, 61
- historicity, 19
- Hodgson, 21
- Homa*, 158
- Hungary, 20
- I**
- icchataḥ*, 11
- idolatry, 54
- imperialism, 33
- indigenous traditions, 51
- Indo-china, 12
- Indology, 11
- J**
- J .W. de Jong, 119
- Jaideva Singh, 65
- Jaina, 66
- James Fergusson, 16
- Jāṅguli, 109

Jāpamantra, 187

Japan, 12

Java, 130

Jawaharlal Nehru, 48

Jean Przylusky, 12

Jetsun Sākya Kushok, 182

jīna-janani, 105

Jñanadākinī, 190

Jñāna-samuchchaya, 123

Josaphat, 18

Judeo-Christian religions, 13

K

Kachoma, 183

Kagyupā's, 183

Kālakanthi, 152

Kālarātri, 152

Kāli, 152

kāma-vedanā, 122

Kane, 53

Karmakanda, 68

Kashmir, 43

Kashmir Śaivism, 65

Kathmandu, 4

Kāyā, 124

Kegon, 138

Khadga-yogini, 190

Kinnaur, 21

Kolkata, 52

Korea, 12

Krama, 102

Kriya aspect of Lakṣmi, 101

Kriya-samgraha, 145

Kriyā-tantra, 121, 124

Kubjikāmata, 197

Kula, 102, 144, 173

Kumārajiva, 133

Kuñjara-karṇa-dharma-kathana, 134

Kurukullā, 99

L

La Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, 25

Ladakh, 4, 21

Lakṣmi, 101

lalanā, 179

lalitaksepaāsana, 146

Lalitāsahtranām, 99

lalitasana, 149

Lalitavistar, 85

Lamaism, 27

Lamotte, 16

Latin, 29

Lauriā–Nandangarh, 93, 94

Lhasa, 191

lineage-teachings, 3, *See*

M

macrocosm-microcosm, 71

Madhyamika, 206

magic, 28

Mahāchīna, 59

Mahacīna-tara, 192

Mahāmantrānusāriṇī, 126

Mahāmāya, 186

Mahāmāyūrī, 126

Mahāmāyūrī, 99

Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārājā, 136

Mahāmāyūrī-sūtra, 106

Mahāpratisarā, 95, 126

Mahāpratisarā-mahāyāna-sūtra, 119

Mahāsahasrapramardinī, 126

Mahasiddhas, 44

Mahāśītavatī, 126

Mahāsukha, 174

Mahātmya, 158

Mahāvāstu, 24

Mahāvāstu-avadāna, 103

Mahāyakṣiṇī, 103

Mahayana, 12

Mahayanasutrālaṅkāra, 80

- Mahāyaśa, 152
 mandala, 33, 79
 maṇḍala, 115, 124
 Mandasor inscription, 95
 Maṇicūḍa, 191
 Maṇicūḍa hill, 191
Manjuśrīmūlakalpa, 109, 138
Manjuśrī-mūlakalpa, 97
 Māntanga, 31
mantra, 77
 Mantrayana, 75
Mātṛtantra, 170
 Max Muller, 22
māyūrīvidyā, 138
 medieval India, 32
 mental phenomena, 205
mGon po, 77
 Milarepa, 96
 Mitra, 52
 modernity, 48
 monastic universities, 78
 Mongolia, 53
 Mt. Shimen, Dazu, 137
mudrās, 124
 Muhammadans, 192
 Mūlasarvāstivāda, 97, 106
 Mūlasarvāstivāda School, 130

 N
 N. N. Bhattacharyya, 60, 86
nāḍī, 179
Naga, 65
 Nāgahvya, 138
 Nagarjuna, 55
 Nagendranath Upadhyaya, 62
 Nairātmyā, 106, 190
 Naiyāyika, 55
Nalanda, 64, 78, 80
Naro Khacho, 199
 Naro-Ḍākinī, 198

Naro-Khācho, 183

Naropa, 96, 198

Naropā, 183

Natha, 62

neo-tantra, 90

Nepal-mahātmya, 191

New Testament, 29

Nikaya schools, 206

Nīla-tārā, 197

nirguṇa yajñya, 191

Nirmankāya, 188

Niṣpannayogāwali, 87

nītārtha-neyārtha, 11

O

Oldenburg, 24

Orient, 49

Oriental Renaissance, 49

Oriental studies, 51

Orientalism, 18

orthodoxy, 62

Osho, 90

P

P. C. Bagchi, 57, 86

P. V. Kane, 39

padmāsana, 148

pagan, 19

Pala period, 143

Pali, 14

Pali Text Society, 28

Pamthingpa brothers, 199

Pañcarakṣā Maṇḍala, 154

Pañcarakṣā-vidhāna, 129

Pañcarakṣā-sūtra, 126

Panchrātra, 100

Pañcrakṣā-devī-caryā-ṇṛitya?, 166

paramārtha-stya, 209

Paramitayana, 75

Paritta, 76

Pārvati, 191

paryāṇka, 149

Paśupati, 72

Paurāṇika, 68

pauṣṭika, 1

Phag-mo gZ-hung-drug, 189

Pharping, 190, 197

philological, 11

Piprahwa, 93

pith instructions, 187

Pitṛitantra, 170

post-colonial period, 5

Prabhākaravardhana, 139

prabhā-svara, 170

Pradīpodyotanaṭīkā, 66

prajñā, 82, 115, 172

prajñā, 171, 205

Prajñā, 176

Prajñāpāramitā, 106, 190

prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, 111

Pratap Malla, 193

primitive, 12, 44

protective deity, 77

protestant, 12

Protestant theology, 28

Purāṇa, 68

Puṣkarasariṇi, 31

R

Rahul Sankrityayan, 63

Rājagriha, 156

Rajendra Lal Mitra, 16

Ramachandra Shukla, 61

rasanā, 179

Ratan Sutta, 76

Ratnasambhava, 151

Rdo-Rje rnal-byor ma, 190

religious substratum, 43

rhetorical tropes, 21

Rhys Davids, 12, 28

ritualism, 58

rMa bya chen mo, 129

romanticism, 18

Ronald Davidson, 32

Rudra, 35

Ruegg, 44

S

Śabda Rūpa, 59

Sadāśiva, 37

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, 77

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, 23

Sādhana-mālā, 35, 59, 95

Sādhana-sāgar, 129

Śad-pāramitā, 174

Sahaja, 84

Sahajayani, 62

Śaiva-Śakta, 40

Śaivism, 99

Śaivites, 192

Saknda-purāṇa, 191

Śakta tantra, 60

Śaktism, 102

Śaktism, 99

samadhi mudra, 149

Samaya, 101

Sambhoga-kāyā, 198

sambhogkāya, 176

Sambhogkāya, 188

Samputosbhava-svra-tantra, 9

samvriti, 209

Samya-devatā, 123

Sanchi, 16, 103, 107

Sanderson, 38

Saṅghpāla, 133

Sankhu, 191, 195

Sanskrit, 29

śāntika, 1

Śārdulakarṇāvadāna, 97

Śārdulakarṇāvadāna, 31

- Śārdūlkārṇāvadāna, 97
sarva-buddha-dākinī, 186
satvaparyāñkasana, 147
saumya, 110
Saundaryalahrī, 100
 Scythia, 20
 semantics, 10
 semiology, 33, 45
 Shankaracharya, 196
 Shantideva, 111
 Shingon, 138
 Siddha, 61, 76
Siddhī, **113**
 Sikkim, 4, 27
sindura-pradāna-mudrā, 140
 Sitātapatrā, 109
 Sitāvan, 156
 Śiva, 35
 Siva's consort, 193
So sor 'brang ma chen mo, 129
 Societe Asiatique, 22
 Song dynasty, 133
 sorcery, 58
 Southeast Asia, 7
 Spiti, 4
 Sri Lanka, 12
Śri-cakrasamvara-tantra, 10
 Srīmitra, 133
 Śri-Śikharipuri-nagara, 197
 Stcherbatsky, 56
 Stephen Beyer, 43
sTong chen mo rab tu 'joms ma, 129
Stupas, 160
 subjectivization, 11
 substratum, 43
śūnyatā, 84
Śūnyatā, 174
Śūnyata, 85
Suramgamasamādhi-sūtra, 16

Suvarṇa-prabhāsa, 77

Suvarṇaprabhāsa, 24

Svachhanda Bhairava, 37

Svāti, 156

Svayambhu, 161

swāmi-dāsyā bhāva, 123

Sylvain Levi, 12

T

Tāng dynasty, 133

Tantra-samgraha, 172

tārā, 59

Tārā, 110

Tārā illustration, 112

tathāgata-kula, 144

Tathāgatas., 172

tattvas, 37

Thangka, 175

Theravada, 12, 26, 29

Tibet, 53

Tibetan Buddhism, 77

Tibetan Tripitaka, 129

Tilopa, 199

Toraṇa, 161

tribal, 62

trikāya-vajrayoginī, 201

*Trikāya-vajrayoginī-sādhana*s, 186

Triśanku, 31

tutelary deity, 7

U

Udabhaṭṭa Swami, 35

Ugra-tārā, 184, 192

Ugra-tārā, 184, 92, 197

ultimate truth, 209

Umā, 35

Unexcelled Tantra, 170

upāya, 82, 115, 171

Upāya, 11, 176

Uṣṇīśavijayā, 109

Utpatti-krama, 189

uttama-siddhi, 1

V

Vaiśālī, 157

Vaiṣṇava, 60

Vaiśravaṇa, 77

Vajracharya priest, 158

vajra-jñāna, 172

Vajrāṅkuśī, 152

Vajrapani, 16

Vajrasphoṭa, 152

Vajravairocinī, 187

Vajrāvalī, 154, 155

Vajravārahī, 184, *See, See*

Vajravarninī, 187

Vajrayana, 29

Vajrayoginī temple, 161

Vajrayoginī-stotra, 202

Vāk, 124

Vamsāvalī, 192

varada mudra, 148

vārāha, 182

Vasanta-tilaka, 172

Vasuādhara, 109

Vasubandhu, 25

Vasugupta, 43

vernacular, 61

Vidyā-rājā, 134

Vidyeshwari, 190

vihāras, 93

Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi, 25

vikalpa, 122

Vikramshila, 78, 80

Vinaya, 106

Viśeṣṭava, 35

Viṣṇu, 35

visualization, 70

Visualization, 114

Vivekananda, 39, 54, 57

W

Waddell, 50

West Champaran, 93

William A. Foucher, 58

William Jones, 19

wind channels, 83, 179

wisdom, 115

Y

Yakṣī illustration, 104

Yakṣiṇī, 16, 96

Yakṣiṇī-sādhana, 97

yidam, 171*Yoga Sutra*, 72

Yogacara, 206

Yoga-tantra, 170

Yogi, 62

yoginī, 91

Yoginī-samchāra-tantra, 187*Yoginī-tantra*, 73

Yuan period, 134